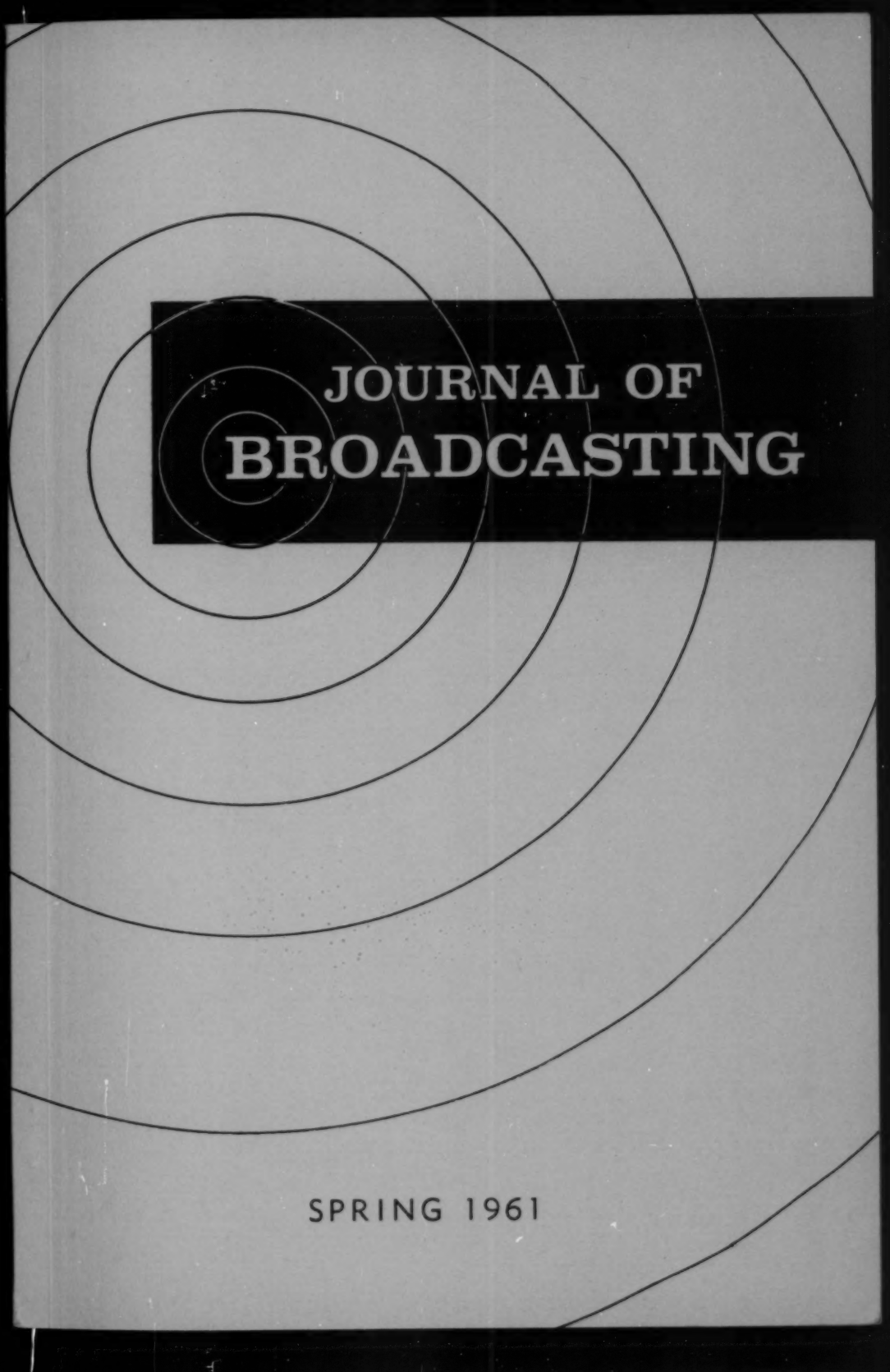
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Manuscripts, books for review, and editorial and business correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, University of Southern California, University Park, Los Angeles 7, California.

Change

AT the recent convention of the National Association of Broadcasters, Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow made a speech that caused a considerable amount of reaction. Broadcasters typically recognized the abuses and imperfections that caused the speech, but violently objected to the spectre of governmental interference, particularly in programming. Letters from the general public typically praised the tenor of Minow's address, but showed little understanding of the internal workings and economics of the industry. Newspaper editorials worried about Federal interference with the communications media; newspaper radio-tv columnists welcomed anything that might improve programming. The net result of the many different reactions to this speech (and the speeches, and scandals, and years of listening, viewing, programming and advertising that preceeded it) is obscure at the present time. We can only be sure that change of some sort will come.

This change may seem to be "good" or "bad," to one group or another. It will be both resented and welcomed, and will be the result of the thoughts and activities and compromises of many individuals and groups, and not just one man. What is most important to realize is that the public seems to feel that this change is overdue, or else the Minow talk would never have received the support it has. The broadcaster should recognize this, and try to initiate and shape the changes that are coming. For if he does not, then the government may truly find itself with a mandate from the general public, and after them the legislative branch, to "clean up the mess." The broadcaster should rarely fight change—he should welcome it. After all, the industry we know today is the result of some forty years of near-unbelievable changes in programming, regulation, and institutionalization.

The years of change that have so far shaped the industry do not yet tell us whether broadcasting's history will prove to be an outward or inward spiral, or a straight line development toward a probably unattainable perfect state of affairs. The avail-

able evidence to date indicates that changes in the form of broadcasting occur in complex, interrelated patterns. Within this issue of the JOURNAL are two examples of this sort of change: Willey's article on the era of the radio soap opera, and the history of the first few years of FM broadcasting, as set forth in FCC *Annual Reports*. Upon reading these articles, one realizes the evolutionary rather than revolutionary nature of the broadcasting industry. The radio soap opera evolved as the result of a variety of pressures, and died the same way. The evolution of FM is even more complicated, and took place over a far longer span of time than most persons realize.

If the broadcaster keeps in mind the larger problems, responsibilities and opportunities facing the electronic mass communications media, and does not restrict himself merely to the programming and economic facets of his own station, he cannot honestly claim that the industry is as perfect as is possible, given the civilization we live in and the technological imperatives of broadcasting. This being so, it is a question of whether he is willing to accept his larger responsibilities, and recognize the opportunity to help solve his industry's economic, technical and social problems, correct its abuses, and thus avoid the legislative or administrative acts that would forever bar the broadcaster from his responsibilities and his freedoms.

It is to the credit of the broadcasting industry that most of the objections to Mr. Minow's speech stem not from a denial of the deficiencies of the industry, but from the broadcaster's feeling of pride in what has been accomplished, and his legitimate feeling that necessary changes and corrections can best be effected through his own efforts rather than through the agency of the Federal government. Change is bound to come, in conjunction with the government (as in the modifications of Sec. 315) or alone, and the broadcaster will actively shape these changes as well as accept them. Means, not ends, are at issue.

End of an Era: The Daytime Radio Serial

BY GEORGE A. WILLEY

Today we are highly aware of the transitory nature of broadcast programming. One season features comedy, another adventure-drama. On radio, even the currently pervading popular music recordings were far less common thirty-five to forty years ago. One of the longest "runs" that any program type ever had was that of the domestic daytime serial, better known as the "soap opera." Although the radio soap opera is dead, this article is not a eulogy, but a history; the story of the rise and fall of an institution that many thought would last as long as radio itself. Perhaps, considering radio programming today and the current healthy state of the television soap opera, in a sense it did last as long as we thought it might.

Dr. George A. Willey is Assistant Professor of Speech and Drama and Director of the Stanford University Radio-Television-Film Institute. This paper was written while he was on sabbatical leave and associated with the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University.

• • •

FRIDAY, November 25, 1960, 2 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, marked the conclusion of one of the most distinctive eras in domestic mass communications; after nearly thirty consecutive years of broadcasting the radio soap operas had reached a conclusion. "Goodbye, and may God bless you," Ma Perkins told her loyal audience as she finished her 7,065th and final broadcast. Young Dr. Malone also bid "a sad goodbye" to his audience. The Second Mrs. Burton did the same, introducing members of her cast for quick goodbyes. Local radio stations along the CBS network line continued with their transcribed spot announcements, time signals and station breaks as radio moved relentlessly forward, never pausing to mourn the departed nor, indeed, even heeding their loss.

Yet at one time this form of radio, represented at the end by only a handful of programs, contributed heavily to the support of the major networks. They have been described properly as radio's oldest, most controversial and by all odds most profitable institution.

The Rise and Fall of the Serial Empire

The origination of serial drama on radio should perhaps be described as an evolutionary process consisting partly of existing forms and partly of a new form. During 1927 and 1928 such weekly programs as "Main Street Sketches," "True Story Hour," "True Romances" and "Romance Isle" served to ascertain audience interest in domestic or romantic themes. Detailed information is incomplete because many radio statistical data of the period 1920-28 are lost, but it is doubtful whether dramatic serials played any role prior to 1928 when NBC broadcast "Real Folks." According to the best available information, the first three dramatic serials on a radio network were, in the order named: "Real Folks" (August 6, 1928), "Amos and Andy" (August 19, 1929) and "Rise of the Goldbergs" (November 20, 1929).[1] "Real Folks" and "Rise of the Goldbergs," broadcast weekly, created interest in continued domestic situations centered around the same characters each week; "Amos and Andy," popular in their first full network season of fifteen-minute shows each weekday evening, established a practical day-by-day manner of delivering drama to the public.

A few of the larger stations, seeking a means of easing the economic and production strain of morning variety shows, began experimenting with serial drama in 1930-31. Chicago, in particular, is most often named in connection with the origination of radio serials on a local level. These initial efforts were very limited in number and in originality; popular fiction was adapted both to episodic installments and to radio. One of the earliest examples was the dramatization of a novel, "The Stolen Husband," by station WBBM in Chicago.

Original serial drama became more evident on network radio in 1931 although the concept of across-the-board daytime scheduling had not yet evolved. "The Goldbergs" were increased to five episodes each week but were still heard in the evening over the Red Network of NBC. A second serial, broadcast five evenings each week over the Blue Network, was "Clara, Lu and Em." "Myrt and Marge" were scheduled each evening at 7 p.m. over CBS.

"Just Plain Bill" was added in 1932 as a weekly evening feature on NBC but this season was more significant for moving some of the serial drama into the daytime hours. "Clara, Lu and

Em" was the first of the established serials to be switched to a morning time period. New titles which were added to the daytime schedule included "Betty and Bob" and, three afternoons weekly, "The Girl Who Lives Next Door."

"Vic and Sade" began as a co-operative venture in June 1932, struggling along for several seasons before securing a sponsor. It was not unusual to be without sponsorship at that time, however; not until the mid-Thirties did prominent commercial sponsors venture into the hours before 6 p.m.

There were still three serial programs scheduled during the evening in 1933 but the number of daytime series had grown to nine. Most prominent among the newcomers were "The Romance of Helen Trent," "Ma Perkins" and "Today's Children." "Mary Marlin" was among three new serials added to network schedules during the next season, bringing the total to thirteen. By 1935 the list had grown to nineteen. The number continued to increase during the 1936-37 season, reaching a total of thirty-one. Most familiar of the new serials to begin that season were "Aunt Jenny's Stories," "Big Sister," "David Harum," "John's Other Wife" and "Pepper Young's Family." All of the serials were now in the daytime hours and, for the first time, they fully demonstrated their income potential to their networks; of the 155 quarter-hours of serial drama each week, all but three were commercially sponsored. Advertisers were pleased to detect the habit-forming nature of the serials which, when added to the great advantage of economy, constituted an excellent medium of advertising.

The 1937-38 season was marked by continued growth of daytime drama. "The Guiding Light," "Lorenzo Jones," "Our Gal Sunday," "Road of Life," "Woman in White" and "Stella Dallas" were among the new serials, bringing the total daily number to thirty-eight. The season was also marked by the most ambitious system of duplication ever undertaken; no less than ten of the serials were repeated at a different hour on a different network and often with a different product being advertised. "Pepper Young's Family" was carried at different hours of the day on three networks: NBC Red, NBC Blue and Mutual. This practice was largely discontinued after a single season; in 1938-39 only four of the serials were being repeated and none was heard more

than twice. The roster of daily titles grew to forty-five including "Valiant Lady," "Joyce Jordan," "Scattergood Baines" and "Life Can Be Beautiful."

Generous discounts were offered to advertisers who would purchase an hour of time rather than single fifteen-minute periods. This system appealed to large advertisers such as Proctor and Gamble which had several brands of products, each of which operated more or less independently, but could trade on the company discount. The hour would be divided among four brands and each would proceed to develop its own serial with such success that another hour would soon be added for the same purpose. Safely assuming their audience to consist of captive housewives, sponsors used the serials primarily to sell cleansers which promised not only to make the workload lighter but to render the user more attractive. Such assurances, coming as they did among scenes which stressed the promises and pitfalls of romance, provided an unusually effective sales device. Despite the preponderance of such advertising which brought about the term "soap opera," estimated in 1939 to represent 40% of the serial advertising, it should be noted that serials were also sponsored by at least five brands of breakfast cereal, seven brands of toothpaste, a great variety of drug products and home remedies as well as assorted foods, food products and beverages.[2]

Not all of the new serials remained from one season to the next. More than half a dozen of the less hardy dropped away during 1939 but nineteen were added, bringing the average total during 1939-40 to fifty-seven. "Right to Happiness," "When a Girl Marries" and "Young Dr. Malone" were among the series added during that period.

1940 was regarded as one of the best years for serials. Daytime sales on CBS and NBC amounted to an estimated 26.7 million dollars, most of it from serial drama. The total sponsored time for daytime programs other than serials on the four networks amounted to 4½ hours per week, compared with 59½ sponsored hours of serial drama each week. Another twenty hours remained unsponsored; there were, at the peak, sixty-four serials being broadcast each day. Nearly all of these sixteen daily hours were carried over the national networks, contributing to the complaint

that there was little or nothing else to hear during the daytime hours. In certain geographical areas, limited in station reception to NBC and CBS affiliates, this was more true than it was in larger cities with a greater variety of program services from which to choose.[3] Audiences in the major cities, under no compulsion to select the serials for entertainment, nevertheless supported them in sufficient numbers to satisfy program sponsors. The average Hooper rating for daytime drama in 1940 was 6.0, but most of the favorites attracted audiences at least half again as large.[4]

Although there were fewer serials the next year—a total of 55— it is doubtful that anyone experienced a sense of emotional recession. The assumption could be made that the law of diminishing returns finally had caught up with serial drama. A dozen new series, including "Front Page Farrell," were added to the schedules, but for the first time since they began there were more programs dropped away than added. Only a handful of new serials were introduced in 1942, including the adaptation to radio of two characters already popular in America, "Kitty Foyle" and "Abie's Irish Rose."

Another fictional favorite, "Perry Mason," was introduced as a daytime serial the following season. There were in addition eight new heroines including "Lora Lawton." The number of serials continued to diminish, however. Between 1943 and 1946, with certain fluctuations, the total dropped from forty-four to thirty-three. Although a few new titles were added each year the schedule became more noticeably populated by veteran series. "Just Plain Bill" was in its fifteenth season; "Ma Perkins" was in her fourteenth year and more than one serial out of every three had been on the air for ten or more years. Seniority was never mistaken for tenure, however; after seventeen years of broadcasting, "The Goldbergs" were discontinued.[5]

"Nora Drake" and "Wendy Warren" were among the five new serials added in 1947, replacing an equal number which were dropped. Business remained at a high level; television had not as yet made serious inroads into the field of daytime entertainment and by 1948 the serials were attracting an annual income of thirty-five million dollars. The rush to add serials, however, was decidedly past. In 1949 there were only two new programs,

neither of which survived a second season.[6] During the following season, for the first time since the radio serial appeared, no new series were introduced and the total at mid-century dropped to twenty-seven.

The number stayed at this level, with minor changes up and down, for a relatively stable period of five years. None of the popular favorites was discontinued during that period and, with the single exception of "Woman in My House," none of the new programs lasted beyond a single season. A major drop-off began in 1955 when only nineteen serials were renewed for the Fall season. Among those which did not return were such veterans as "Lorenzo Jones," "Stella Dallas" and "Just Plain Bill." The total dropped to sixteen in 1956, ten of which were on CBS and the remainder equally divided between NBC and ABC. They were discontinued altogether by ABC the following season. There were virtually no changes in 1958 but the 1959-60 season represented another serious diminution. NBC listed but one serial, "True Story," and CBS, dropping "Backstage Wife," "Our Gal Sunday" and "Nora Drake," was down to seven titles. NBC discontinued its only serial, along with its other entertainment programming, at the end of the season and "Helen Trent" was dropped from CBS.

The 1960-61 season began with a total of six serials, all on CBS and all on borrowed time. The programs were owned by sponsors who were no longer interested in using them. Rather than discontinue the serials entirely, CBS chose to lease the properties by paying royalties to Proctor and Gamble and other owners. Other sponsors were then sought to fill the four commercial positions within the programs. No regular pattern was followed in this application of spot advertising and there was none of the earlier commercial identification with a particular serial. Only half-sold through most of 1960, they dropped to 25% sold toward the end of the year. "Best Seller" was introduced by the network in a final attempt to instill new vitality in the daytime serial by dramatizing novels but it was too late. Affiliated stations increased their efforts to force discontinuance of the serials altogether, determined to obtain release of the time for local sales and operations. In mid-August CBS announced that the last Friday in November would be the final broadcast date for the remaining serials. Each program thus had time to tie all of its

loose ends together and to resolve its current complications. Significantly, none closed with such finality that the plot could not be resumed on a moment's notice.

Authorship

Twenty-eight years of serials, reaching a capacity level of some three hundred and twenty episodes per week, represented a tremendous outpouring of words from a surprisingly small number of writers. This concentration of activity was due in part to the prodigious efforts of a few authors who were capable of sustaining more than one serial at a time, but even more to the mass production techniques employed by one couple, Frank and Anne Hummert.

It was under the direction of the Hummerts that radio writing most closely paralleled factory production methods. The system employed was for Mrs. Hummert to dictate a plot outline containing suggested incidents for a period of three months. Key dialogue might also be included. Copies of this outline would be circulated among a half-dozen of the writers on their staff, each of whom would prepare a sample script for consideration. The writer whose script was selected would then be assigned primary responsibility for developing the entire series from outlines which would continue to come from Mrs. Hummert.

The procedure was to write at least one week and preferably two weeks ahead of the date of broadcast. Before reaching the air the scripts would pass through the hands of one of six script editors and receive a final check from the Hummerts. The number of writers thus employed would vary from year to year with perhaps fifteen or twenty acting in a full-time capacity at the height of the operation. The services of another thirty writers (sometimes referred to in this unique situation as "dialoguers") were also available.

During their peak years the Hummerts kept between a dozen and eighteen serials on the air simultaneously, in addition to a few longer evening programs. Their best known series included "Just Plain Bill" (which they had originated in Chicago as "Bill the Barber"), "Ma Perkins," "Stella Dallas," "Lorenzo Jones,"

"Young Widder Brown," "Backstage Wife," "David Harum," "Helen Trent" and "Our Gal Sunday."

In addition to those connected with the Hummert organization there were other writers who became closely associated with the daytime serial, of whom perhaps the best known are Elaine Carrington, Irna Phillips, Sandra Michael and Paul Rhymer. Elaine Carrington was a successful magazine writer whose first radio series, "Red Adams," proved to be a success in 1932 and eventually became "Pepper Young's Family." For dictating this serial and two others, "Rosemary" and "When a Girl Marries," Elaine Carrington enjoyed a weekly income of $3,500.

Irna Phillips was another writer who employed the technique of dictation as a means of producing a tremendous volume of material. After seven months of writing "Painted Dreams" for WGM (Mutual) in Chicago, she moved to NBC and began "Today's Children," a serial in which she also acted. She took on other serial assignments, eventually providing six daily serials each week.[7] Sandra Michael, having impressed Proctor and Gamble executives with her summer replacement writing of "Mary Marlin," began writing "Against the Storm" in September of 1939. The serial won the Peabody Award but neither this unusual distinction nor a strong audience rating proved sufficient to persuade advertising agency representatives that the author had more than a single, limited story to tell; it was discontinued in December of the same year.

Best known among the remaining writers were Paul Rhymer and Gertrude Berg. For thirteen years Rhymer's "Vic and Sade" was singled out for the warmth and humor of its writing. Similarly, it was not so much the turns of plot as the charm of writing which sustained "The Goldbergs" during its many seasons of audience favor. Gertrude Berg was the author, though it was her portrayal of Molly with which the audience most closely associated her with the program.[8]

Howard Teichman wrote "Road of Life," Jane West, "The O'Neills," Martha Alexander, "The Second Mrs. Burton," and Jane Crusinberry, "Mary Marlin." "Big Sister" was written by the team of Robert Newman and Julian Funt. Addy Richton collaborated with Lynn Stone (under the joint name of Adelaide

Marstone) to write "Hilltop House" and, for a shorter period, "This Life is Mine." Charles Jackson, planning to spend twelve months writing a novel about an alcoholic, undertook the assignment of writing a radio serial to tide him over. He actually spent two years with the serial, "Sweet River," but it was of course the novel, "The Lost Weekend," which raised him above the anonymity of radio.

Structure and Content

The similarity of writing demonstrated among the serials was more than striking; there was strong resemblance to one another not only in content but in setting and characters. There were few exceptions to this general criticism but these should be noted. Richton and Stone demonstrated a genuine regard for child psychology by creating a heroine of "Hilltop House," the Superintendent of an orphanage, who dealt realistically with the problems of youngsters. Sandra Michael was commended particularly for the manner in which "Against The Storm," using a liberal college professor as spokesman, spoke out against the dangers of fascism and conformity. This serial, as well as "Lone Journey" by the same author, made use of narration beyond the normal purposes of exposition and supposition. The characters in "Road of Life" would occasionally recite a bit of poetry or perform excerpts of classical music. "The Right to Happiness" involved a character by the name of Past who served as a voice of conscience reminding everyone of the consequences of earlier mistakes. In general, however, the assemblyline character of writing resulted in compatible and virtually interchangeable parts. A period of eight and three-quarter minutes, on the average, was devoted to dramatic action; the rest of the time was divided among introduction, commercials, synopses, summaries, contest announcements[9] and music.

The dramatic structure shared by most radio serials remained constant through the entire period. This structure could be characterized as a narrative continuum, an endless sequence of major and minor problems. On the average, a minor problem was introduced each week. These were overlaid by major problems which constituted episodes varying in length from six or eight weeks to several months wherein the termination of one episode would be preceded by the beginning of the next. The connec-

tion between episodes was inconspicuous and usually irrelevant but sufficient to insure the forward motion of the drama despite the resolution of what the audience might falsely have supposed to have been the major dramatic question.

Unlike the serialization of a complete story in print, the radio serial existed as drama with no major dramatic question whatever. There are instead major *rhetorical* questions: Can a woman over thirty-five find happiness? Can a little orphan girl from a small mining camp build a successful marriage with England's wealthiest, most handsome lord?

Such questions usually were answered in terms of tragic, heart-stirring events which constituted what one critic has described as "success stories of the unsuccessful."[10] Despite the daily introduction of "Lorenzo Jones" as "a story with more smiles than tears," happy stories about happy people were, for reasons of dramatic effectiveness, decidedly in the minority.

Warner and Henry described the natural manner in which women occupied the center of the drama: "The basic and primary theme is that good and noble women who are wives and mothers are invincible within their own arena of life, the American family. Men, who are superordinate elsewhere, are subordinate and dependent on the wisdom of the wife."[11] Many examples could be provided wherein the better educated, socially, professionally and financially superior individuals, unable to handle their own affairs, were placed in positions of admiration and personal indebtedness to lower-class heroines.

Much of the dramatic conflict was of a romantic nature but a greater proportion of time was devoted to plot and character situations operating on two levels: episodes involving major crimes, grave danger and physical disability alternated with less intense and shorter sequences which accommodated a wide variety of difficulties ranging from loss of employment down to minor misunderstandings among friends. Murder and false accusation of murder was a particularly popular theme used at one time or another by the majority of serials. Another familiar subject would be serious illness or incapacity of a temporary and/or mysterious character, frequently baffling medical science. Temporary blind-

ness and amnesia were disorders to which serial characters were particularly susceptible.[12]

Few writers attempted any serious departure from the formula for a successful heroine put forth by Irna Phillips: a small town woman plus an emotional problem plus physical danger. A few large and familiar cities were used as settings but the overwhelming majority of serials were placed in small communities which either were fictious or remained unidentified altogether. Partly as a concession to the early audience, many members of which were older women in outlying areas, and partly because of the psychological compatibility and dramatic appropriateness of such settings to the action, the world of the daytime serial consisted of a cluster of small communities: Beauregard, Dickston, Elmwood, Great Falls, Hartville, Homeville, Oakdale, Rushville Center, Simpsonville and Three Oaks.

Again making allowances for exceptions, most of the serial stories were constructed around a central character, the composite of which could be described as middleclass, conservative, intuitive, philosophic, virtuous, sympathetic and benevolent. With few exceptions they were ageless and, with fewer exceptions, unaging. They were very good people; if they appeared to be accident or trouble prone it was largely the doing of bad people and of their own predisposition to help weaker people extricate themselves from trouble.

Over a period of years the settings, characters and episodes were determined increasingly by audience reaction. A constant supply of mail indicated preference in specific terms of approval or disapproval.[13] To whatever degree the serial character thereby reflected the attitudes of the listener, it is certain that the content of the serial drama was designed to satisfy the apparent blend of parochial attitudes and vicarious fantasies entertained by their followers. The heroines neither smoked nor drank, although in later years these vices were gradually introduced among supporting characters. There was virtually no attention paid to dancing. Sex was handled very delicately; despite its importance to the motivation and relationship between characters, romance always observed the unusually strict tenets of what Thurber referred to as radio's "daytime morality."[14] As a consequence of their devo-

tion to high ideals these folk enjoyed uncommon access to an eventful life, to each and every adventure which occurred within their admittedly small communities, to confidences and shared experiences reserved only for those unusually blessed in wisdom, understanding, and the unceasing courage of badly bruised convictions.

Production

Although the networks retained ultimate responsibility for the serials broadcast over their facilities, production passed very early into the hands of advertising agencies; network connection with production was reduced to the right to exercise censorship and the placement of a liaison man in the control room during the broadcast.

Because of the familiarity of routine the rehearsals were limited to one or two table readings and an optional reading before the microphone. During the peak years of heaviest production schedules some of these rehearsals were necessarily conducted in hallways adjacent to studios which were constantly in use. A single Hammond organ, known to serial practitioners as the "God Box," could provide all the necessary musical background.[15]

150 actors and a small army of part-time players shared anonymity with writers; they were known to their audience by their fictional rather than professional names. Art Van Harvey and Bernardine Flynn, as examples, are unknown to millions of people to whom the names Vic and Sade are instantly familiar. One of the busiest actors was James Meighan who performed in a dozen serials over a period of years, playing the leading man in two at the same time. It is interesting to note also how many performers of later prominence were involved in radio serials for brief periods in their careers. Marian and Jim Jordan were among the first to utilize their versatility to provide miscellaneous voices in six weekly serials for a combined salary of $50 per week. "The Goldbergs," more than any other program, involved the greatest number of established artists or actors who were later to become well known. Everett Sloane assumed the role of Sammy Goldberg in 1932. Van Heflin played the romantic lead in 1936 and Joseph Cotten acted in the same capacity the following season. Francis X. Bushman, Mercedes McCambridge and Agnes Moore-

head acted in various serials but Frank Lovejoy must surely hold the record for the most serial roles, having partcipated in no less than sixteen different stories.

Audience Acceptance

In size, the audience numbered approximately half of the women who were home during the daytime hours. In composition it included women of all cultural, economic and social levels. Among the faithful audience were many individuals whose relationship to the programs exceeded passive entertainment. For these listeners, the line between illusion and reality was too finely drawn to remain in view for an extended period of time. Whatever the level of rationalization employed, this segment of the audience did not regard the serial characters wholly as fiction. If one of the episodes involved the birth of a child the program could expect to receive not only notes of congratulations but baby gifts from all over the country. The same phenomenon occurred on the occasion of birthdays and anniversaries mentioned in any script. There were offers to loan money or to extend other assistance to destitute characters.

During one of the many unjust accusations of murder a listener in Texas volunteered to come to New York to testify. She had been listening the day the murder was committed; not only could she attest to the innocence of the hero but, in addition, she could name the killer! Ruth Ann of "Bachelor's Children" suffered amnesia and wandered away from her husband only to take up with another man, prompting dozens of letters written in the hope of bringing her to her senses and reminding her that she still was married to Dr. Bob. Another lost wanderer was Tiny Tim of "Hilltop House." Hundreds of letters volunteered information as to his possible whereabouts. One listener reported seeing him bobbing in a rowboat on Lake Michigan and in need of rescue.

Such examples of unusual audience identification could be dismissed as revealing a lunatic fringe were it not for the fact that hundreds of additional examples in an increasing order of sophistication lead without a clear line of demarcation to the great body of listeners who accepted their favorite serials as pure fiction but, in addition, as something more than entertainment.

The primary reasons for listening, while often interrelated, can be distinguished as: (a) emotional escape from monotony, personal disappointment and difficulty; (b) provision of moral values and guidance in family and interpersonal problems; (c) bolstering of the female ego; (d) companionship and, lastly, (e) entertainment.

The housewife increasingly has been free to indulge in whatever diversion, real or imaginary, might lighten the drudgery of her workload and brighten her glamourless life. The convenience and accessibility of radio served for many either to create heroic fantasies or to channel existing reveries at little or no cost in time or work accomplished. At the same time the listener was exposed to a generally consistent sequence of problem-solution case studies designed as entertainment but from which, if she so desired, the modern woman could derive sufficient strength and conviction to meet her share of personal grief. Whether or not the serials expected to function as educational or therapeutic instruments, the fact remains that nearly half of the listeners placed heavy emphasis on the guidance, inspiration and practical assistance thus afforded.[16]

The listener's sense of security was enhanced by emphasis placed in the serials upon such matters of special interest as marriage ties, the problems encountered by career women (a role the listener had avoided), the importance attached to the role of the wife and homemaker and, in all things, the ultimate triumph of good over evil. It was not by chance that nearly all of the moral, emotional and spiritual strength was invested in the female characters.

At a more widely shared level of appreciation, the serials were enjoyed simply for the companionship provided by characters who became familiar to the listener over a period of months and years. The punctuality and dependability of the daily visits doubtlessly lent a sense of order to many a pointless day.

Finally, a substantial portion of the total audience welcomed the serials simply as diversion and, more particularly, as a source of dramatic entertainment which represented but one portion of their daily radio listening.

Criticism

"O my country, my country, the pains are so great you must be growing up at last."[17] This reference to daytime serials, written during their first season on the air, was but the beginning of a body of criticism which grew and subsided in direct proportion to the growth and decline of the serials themselves, reaching its peak in volume and intensity during the early Forties. Criticism ranged from violent and emotional public outcries to more rational evaluations of the genre with specific objections cited in detail. Disregarding the frequent attacks upon form and quality of serial writing, more significant criticism can be observed on two levels: (a) a denial of the justifications expressed by listeners and (b) more penetrating accusations of social damage.

Critics were reluctant to accept the opportunities for emotional escape purportedly provided by daytime drama; preoccupation with frustration, distrust, unhappiness and unpleasantness was considered by many to be a morbid substitute for reality, an unhealthy escape at best. Some expressed particular regret that, despite the obvious exaggeration of characters and situations, many women continued to report the serials as their source of ideas of what to do in crises.[18] As for the provision of moral values, the considerable distinction between advice and attitude change is best illustrated in one listener's statement of appreciation, followed by her dislike of another particular serial: "They teach you how to be good. I have gone through a lot of suffering but I still can learn from them . . . I don't listen to 'The Goldbergs.' Why waste electricity on the Jews?"[19]

The arguments involving ego satisfaction and companionship were attacked by several critics including women who, often through organized groups, charged that such inspiration and companionship were not in the best interests of the audience. Life, they argued, did not consist of a rapid succession of emotional climaxes; the listener who recognized the difference was being insulted, the listener who did not was being misled.

The most strenuous single attack upon the serials came in 1942 from a New York psychiatrist, Louis Berg. Dr. Berg blamed daytime drama for emotional relapses suffered by his patients. As an experiment, he and an assistant conducted pulse and blood

pressure readings before and after listening to a group of serials on the radio. Berg published his findings and personal observations in two highly critical pamphlets charging that serial listening could result in tachycardia, arrhythmia, profuse perspiration, tremors, vasomotor instability, nocturnal frights, vertigo, gastrointestinal disturbance, emotional irritability and varying degrees of depression. These charges were refuted by one of the serial writers, Max Wylie, who pointed out that Berg and his assistant had limited the test to themselves and to isolated episodes; the results were not those of women listening to serials over a period of time because they enjoyed them.[20] The networks, regarding serials to be their responsibility despite the delegation of control, exhibited brief concern over Dr. Berg's report. NBC appointed a study-advisory committee consisting of Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal* of the American Medical Association, Dr. Harry Viets, lecturer on neurology at Harvard Medical School, and Dr. Winifred Overholser, psychiatrist and Superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington. In addition to dismissing Dr. Berg's blood pressure experiment as "pseudo-scientific, uncontrolled and worse than useless for scientific evaluation," the committee summarized its affirmative conclusions in a statement of only mild qualification: "Since, however, the tendency of all the dramas studied is toward the solutions that are generally accepted as ethical in our social existence, the effects of the dramas tend toward helpfulness rather than harm . . . They seem to fulfill a real demand for a public of considerable size and their shortcomings are heavily outweighed by their virtues."[21]

The serials, needing no exoneration, entered their second decade at full strength. During the remaining twenty-year period criticism subsided to a low but fairly constant murmur of disappointment and distress marked by the occasional use of satire and ridicule. Daytime drama, however, had proven itself; the total strength of criticism had been able to dislodge neither the programs nor the listeners. With sharp reminders of its responsibility, radio was left alone to determine the destiny of its serial drama largely in terms of continued usefulness to sponsors and networks.

Conclusion

As far as the sponsors were concerned, the usefulness of serials diminished in proportion to the loss of audience which ultimately came about in some cases through disenchantment, in other cases through a wider choice of programs and to a large extent through later competition from television. The networks were anxious to continue the successful programs but this enthusiasm was not shared by affiliated stations who found their primary competition no longer to be opposing networks but the independent stations in their communities. The technique employed to attract audiences was the development of a new "image" or, more accurately, a new "sound" which was thought to involve a narrow consistency of programming rather than a mixture of drama, music and variety features. CBS and NBC affiliates were offered opportunities to purchase serials recorded by the networks for sale on syndicated basis but the response was insufficient to warrant such an undertaking.

There remained, however, an audience sufficient in size to permit speculation on the future of the daytime serial. Charles Mickelson Inc., a New York radio production and distribution facility, acquired American rights to "Portia Faces Life" and "Life Can Be Beautiful," two of the earlier serials whose foreign rights already were held. Reporting inquiries from thirty-five independent radio stations as a start, Mickelson announced plans to have the serials produced in Australia for syndicated distribution in this country and abroad.[22]

The influx of serials in daytime television has been considerably less spectacular and no indication of a change in this pattern of development is evident. Television serials are expensive to produce in comparison with other popular forms of daytime programming. Moreover, the newer medium's great advantage of sight is at once its greatest disadvantage in terms of recapturing the spell cast by the radio serial whose characters and settings were never reduced to flesh and blood and make-up and clothing and living rooms and furniture and all the rest. Seeing, it turns out, is not believing to nearly the same extent.

Whatever the future of serial drama on television or as transcribed features syndicated to radio stations, the great era of the

daytime radio serial stands as a significant, amusing, amazing, completed chapter in the short history of American broadcasting.

Footnotes

[1]"The First Dramatic Serials of Radio," (Undated National Broadcasting Company memo; Mimeographed).

[2]Including various brands of chewing gum, paper products, tea, coffee, soup, baking products, life insurance, coal, rugs, hair dressings, cosmetics and one automobile manufacturer. There were no soap sponsors for serials during the last sixteen months they were on the air. Cereals, laxatives and various remedies were the most frequent sponsors during the final years.

[3]In 1941 the following cities were among the many large communities served only by CBS and the Red and Blue networks of NBC. Some, but not all, could receive secondary signals from neighboring areas: Albuquerque, Birmingham, Des Moines, Houston, Jacksonville, Pocatello, Reno, Salt Lake City, Tucson and Tulsa.

[4]This seems to be very difficult to translate into actual numbers of listeners with any degree of accuracy. Consensus is that about twenty million women, representing approximately half of the women at home during the day, listened to two or more serials daily.

[5]The popular series returned to its original form as a Friday evening comedy series in 1949 and began its television adaptation that same year.

[6]By 1949 some 145 titles had been used, accounting in part for the limited imagination represented by the two additions: "Marriage for Two" and "Nona from Nowhere."

[7]In addition to "Today's Children": "Woman in White," "Right to Happiness," "The Guiding Light," "Road of Life," "Lonely Women." Miss Phillips is now writing serials for television.

[8]Mrs. Berg later wrote a weekly drama, "House of Glass," which was carried by NBC during the 1953-54 season.

[9]James Thurber quotes his favorite lines of giveaway prose as follows: "A perfect lapel pin . . . particularly with that gleaming gold-flashed bowknot pin that the heartshaped enclosure with the real four-leaf clover in it is suspended from." See "Soapland: Part V. The Invisible People," *The New Yorker*, July 3, 1948, pp. 37-44.

[10]Robert West, *The Rape of Radio* (New York: Rodin Publishing Co., 1941), p. 85.

[11]W. Lloyd Warner and William E. Henry, "The Radio Daytime Serial: A Symbolic Analysis," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, February, 1948, p. 62.

[12]An additional listing of mental and physical ailments found most often in radio serials is discussed in Whitfield Cook, "Be Sure to Listen In," *The American Mercury*, March, 1940, pp. 314-319.

[13]This practice has continued to the present day in television serial writing according to Leonard Stadd, author of "From These Roots." Pointing out the advantages afforded by the serial form in building characterizations and developing plots, Stadd further appreciates the opportunity to modify, amplify or redirect dramatic situations according to audience reaction. "If a particular

story line doesn't seem to be developing as it should, I can correct it. In a one-shot drama, though, this can't be done. Once it's on the air, that's it. On the other hand, if a character catches the viewer's fancy—and they are quick to tell us—we can build up the role." NBC press feature release, March 13, 1961, 2 pp. (Mimeographed.)

[14]". . . the good women must float like maiden schoolteachers above what Evangeline Adams used to call 'The Slime,' that is, the passionate expression of sexual love." Thurber, "Soapland, Part II. Ivorytown, Rinsoville, Anacinburg and Crisco Corners," *The New Yorker*, May 29, 1948, p. 34.

[15]"This Life of Mine" often utilized an orchestra to amplify the contribution made by music to the drama. Considerably more costly as a consequence, the series did not attract sponsors.

[16]In this respect the serials have been compared with the morality plays of the Middle Ages: "By dramatizing the hopes and fears of the average American housewife, and her standards of right and wrong, the radio serial tells stories which point out good and evil in a way that ordinary people can understand . . ." quoted from "Soap Operas Beneficial," *Science News Letter*, July 3, 1948, p. 13. Herzog details several examples of which the following statements are representative: (1) "I think Papa David helped me to be more cheerful when Fred, my husband, comes home. I feel tired and instead of being grumpy, I keep on the cheerful side." (2) "When Clifford's wife died in childbirth the advice Paul gave him I used for my nephew when his wife died." See Herta Herzog, "On Borrowed Experience. An Analysis of Listening to Daytime Serials," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, February, 1941, pp. 65-95.

[17]Robert Littell, "A Day with Radio," *The American Mercury*, February, 1932, p. 225.

[18]Mrs. J. Currie Gibson and Hazel Russell, "What Besides Daytime Serials?" *Let's Learn to Listen*, ed. by Leslie Spence (Madison: The Wisconsin Joint Committee for Better Radio Listening, 1945), p. 50. For adverse comments from listeners see Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Helen Dinerman, "Research in Action; Ch. IV, The Other Listeners," *Communication Research 1948-49*, ed. by Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), pp. 94-106.

[19]Herta Herzog, "Psychological Gratifications in Daytime Radio Listening," *Readings in Social Psychology*, ed. by Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947), p. 564.

[20]In one of the few essays written in defense of radio serials, Wylie later questioned the motives of critics who admittedly never listened to them, seeing no entertainment value for themselves. See Max Wylie, "Washboard Weepers," *Harpers Magazine*, November, 1942. Reprinted in Baxter Hathaway and John Moore, *The Exposition of Ideas* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1948), pp. 431-439.

[21]NBC Press Department release, February 5, 1943 (Mimeographed.)

[22]"A Reprieve," *Broadcasting*, September 5, 1960, p. 50. During the nine-month interim period since this announcement there has been no further indication of progress in carrying the idea forward.

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Censor and Sensibility:

A Content Analysis of the Television Censor's Comments

BY CHARLES WINICK

The position of network censor, whatever the title appended to the job, is one of particular sensitivity. To the industry as a whole, he acts to forstall the program material that could cause criticism of the network, station, sponsor or program. A writer who feels that his work has been needlessly mutilated has a different conception of the role of the network censor. The public is largely unaware of his existence.

The pamphlet by the author of the present article, Taste and the Censor in Television *(published by the Fund for the Republic, 1959, as an Occasional Paper on the role of the mass media in the free society), was the first major attempt to define the place of the censor. Another article of interest was George Gerbner's "Mental Illness on Television: A Study of Censorship"* (JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, Vol. III, No. 4, Fall, 1959.)

The article that follows is intended to convey the flavor of the censor's work, and provide an adequate introduction to this important phase of broadcasting self-regulation and management. It is possibly the only study of the broadcasting executive as a decision-maker. As such, it should be of extreme interest to anyone in the creative and the business ends of broadcasting.

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THE contemporary confusion over censorship is nowhere better illustrated than in the large number of thoughtful Americans who are unalterably opposed to censorship of art but who are in favor of censorship of mass media. The current debate over censorship of mass media can best be understood in the light of the considerable history of the problem.

Men of good will have been preoccupied with the consideration of how much social control needs to be imposed on the free expression of ideas. Plato pointed to a need for a "royal lie" in order to help establish the state, and justified such a lie because the state itself was the embodiment of truth and justice. Plato even expelled poets from his ideal state because no one could

predict what they would say. Spinoza, though his own work was heavily censored and he was a champion of free speech, recommended that the sovereign could properly insist on those beliefs which a reasonable person could hold. Our era may appropriately be called Hobbesian, because it was Hobbes who detailed how the state should maintain some control of people's opinions in order to maintain the peace which Hobbes saw as the major purpose of the state. Just as Hobbes wanted to avoid the tumult occasioned by different viewpoints, so modern censorship has developed as a kind of commonly held mass sensibility writ large, trying to anticipate and forestall the tumult which might arise from certain kinds of expression.

Other countries also have their areas of special concern, which are hedged about with taboos. Some films and other artistic representations of the Dreyfus case, like the distinguished American film, *Zola*, starring Paul Muni, have never been shown in France. The film version of *A Farewell to Arms* was protested by Italian veterans of World War I who found the original novel and its film version "degrading."[1]

Ever since an actual 1907 automobile theft was attributed to the thief having seen the film *The Great Automobile Robbery*, there has been growing discussion about the extent to which mass media require censorship or self-regulation.[2] As a result of this incident, Chicago, in 1907, passed the first film censorship legislation. Movie censorship boards still operate in some states and cities. However, the major regulation of the content of movies has been conducted by the industry itself since 1930, through the Motion Picture Association's Production Code Administration, which is a central editing and advising office to which producers submit scripts.[3] Each approved film is given a seal of approval. Similar industry-wide editing is performed by the comic magazine trade association, established in 1954 after public and legislative expressions of disapproval of comic content. The power of voluntary codes in mass media is of particular concern today for several reasons. Both the proponents and foes of media regulations have been becoming much more vocal in the last decade than they ever have been. The proponents of regulation feel that Communist attacks on America are easier to make because of the content of

mass media. Respected intellectuals like Walter Lippmann have endorsed "censorship of the mass entertainment of the young."[4] Legislative investigative groups have often attributed part of the post-World War II increase in juvenile delinquency to mass media.[5] Similar charges have been made by voluntary organizations which have intensified their grass roots campaigns to "clean up" the popular arts. The power of these voluntary groups can be inferred from the role of a woman's club in fomenting the outcry over Fatty Arbuckle in 1922, and thus leading to the self-regulation of motion pictures. The Legion of Decency was formed after protests by voluntary organizations as a result of the 1934 cycle of gangster films.

Almost simultaneously with this spurt of interest in a stricter censorship, there has been a parallel increase in the activity of those opposed to censorship. A series of court decisions since 1952 has substantially undercut the censorship power of the Post Office Department and of state obscenity laws.[6] The civil liberties groups which have consistently called censorship a conspiracy in restraint of trade of ideas have stepped up the tempo of their attacks[7], focusing the selective indignation of Americans on the censorship issue. Social scientists have generally felt that their knowledge of the effects of media is not substantial enough to permit recommendation of what ought to be proscribed, even assuming the existence of a censorship apparatus.

Censorship is such a negatively loaded concept that few media censors or monitoring agencies have discussed their activities in any detail.[8] A close-up examination of how self-regulation of media actually takes place might help to cast light on those shibboleths or institutions of our society whose lengthened shadows are reflected in the censor's changes and could clarify the kind of use which is being made of the censors' power. Rather than debate censorship in the abstract, an examination of how it actually works might serve to make more real the concept of censorship.

Television was selected as the mass communications industry to be examined for two reasons. There are practically no studies either of the industry or of the broadcasters themselves, whereas

power and managerial patterns in other media have been analyzed. Another reason was the extent to which television has become the central mass medium of our time, with children spending an average of 15 to 20 hours a week with television.

Broadcasting Self-Regulation

Broadcasting, like comic books and movies, engages in self-regulation. Broadcasting in the United States is largely supported by the sale of time to advertisers, often through advertising agencies, by stations which are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission to conduct television broadcasting on assigned frequencies. Broadcasting is the only mass medium in which *access* to the audience is sold and the audience itself does not pay for access to the specific program. The F.C.C. does not supervise the specific content of radio and television programs, and any censorship activity on its part is prohibited by the Communications Act.

The first codification of what should and should not go into radio programs was adopted in 1934, and an industry-wide code was adopted in 1937. It included a detailed statement dealing with program and advertising content. An industry-wide voluntary television code was established by the National Association of Broadcasters in 1952.[10] Approximately two-thirds (387) of the country's television stations subscribe to the code.

Although it is possible that any horizontal industry code is illegal, the Supreme Court has never decided a case involving a code. The codes for motion pictures, radio, and television differ somewhat. The motion picture code could be said to have a moral and near-theological tone. There was provision for a $25,000 fine for violation of the code which has never been levied. The motion picture code uses the principle of "compensating moral values," which permits the presentation of otherwise unacceptable material if the wrong-doing is accompanied by appropriate suffering. The radio code is more general than the film regulations. The radio code highlights radio's commercial overtones and its interest in avoidance of external control. The television code differs from the radio code because of the extent to which it emphasizes the sta-

tion licensee's active responsibility toward his audience. The television code is much more detailed than the radio code. Neither the radio nor television code uses moral language, provides for a fine for violations, or has the principle of "compensating moral values." Although each motion picture must get a specific seal of acceptance, subscribing radio and television stations get a seal which the station keeps.

In terms of actual program practice, radio probably was more emancipated than television. Radio came of age in the 1930's, when there was a feeling of urgency about many social problems and a feeling that they might be solved. Radio also had a cadre of professional writers who had developed a feeling of identification with their profession. The nature of the problems of the television era has made many people feel that not much can be done about them. There is today almost a revulsion from problems and a sharp trend toward romantic and fairy-tale entertainments like the Cinderella story, *My Fair Lady*.

Method

One of the three major television networks was asked to permit an examination of the work of its program-screening department, which not only implements the voluntary industry code but also acts to implement network program "ground rules."[11] Since over nine-tenths of the country's television stations are affiliated with one of the three networks, the pattern of decision on program content made by network executives would appear to be a paradigm of the most emancipated broadcaster's practice. The network provided access to its files, and it was decided to examine all monthly reports of the program-screening group for the years from 1954 through 1956. The enormous workload of this group can be inferred from the over 8,000 hours of programming which it screens and edits in an average year.

These reports include discussions of deletions and changes made during the preceding month from television programs before they go on the air, based on analysis of scripts, recordings, kinescopes, or observation of rehearsals. The discussion of each deletion is likely to be relatively thorough and may range from a few lines to a few pages. The reports also include representative

comments from the three million communications which the network gets in an average year from its audiences.

The reports include only a very small fraction of the deletions and changes made during the preceding month. They include, however, a discussion of those deletions and comments which were considered important or interesting or typical enough to be communicated to the production personnel who receive the reports. The contents of these reports may thus be regarded as representative barometers.

An analysis of these reports should provide a paradigm of the day-to-day work of broadcasting screeners. In order to determine how representative the contents of these reports are, the results of this analysis for one year were compared with an analysis of every change made in all network programs during a typical week—the first week of April 1957—and the degree of correlation was .96. Possibly the only category of change or deletion which is not adequately represented is that of scientific inaccuracies, which are so individual and so unique that they have little generalizability. The number of actual changes, cautions or deletions for any individual half-hour program may range from none to nine.

All the monthly screening reports of the network for the calendar years 1954-1956 were examined. Each year's reports were studied separately and each report analyzed individually. The reports were given to three different analysts who had training and experience in media-content analysis. Each judge independently placed each comment, change, or deletion, into one of fourteen categories which had been previously established on the basis of inspection of the material by a fourth judge.[12] The categories are: advertising, animals, anti-social, crudity, legal, liquor, medical, political, racial-ethnic, religion, sex, spoofing the serious, special interests, and violence. It was felt that an adequate impression of the actual content of the comments could be obtainel by analysis of the detailed comments for the year 1956, the last year studied.

Quantifying the screening group's comments necessarily does violence to the extended discussions and gradations of meaning

in the reports. The listing of these comments should not give the impression that the screening group is exclusively concerned with these or any other discrete parts of a radio or television program: it is just as concerned with the larger themes of program material.

In order to simplify analysis of the network comments, ascription of value judgments to these comments has been eliminated. For example, whenever possible the use of words like "vulgarity" in the categorization below does not concede that any cited instance actually conveys vulgarity, but only that this content category was discussed in a specific report.

Deletions and Comments For 1956

The comments which follow may not be restricted to the specific materials cited in Table I and may refer to other programs and situations. The deletions and comments are arranged alphabetically for the fourteen categories. The breakdown within each category indicates the details of each category of change occurring in the year. The "number" column indicates the number of times that the specific kind of deletion or comment occurs.

TABLE I
Number of Deletions, by Category, 1956

Number of Deletions or Comments	Content of Deletions or Comments
	a: Advertising
5	Reportedly excessive claims for product
3	Possible crudeness of commercial
2	Anxiety may be provoked by commercial
1	Association of flag with product
1	Unpaid commercial mention
1	Attack on competing brands
1	Representation of violence in movie commercial
14	(11.1% of total)

	b: Animals
1	Use of rabbit on magic show
1	Dog knocked unconscious in Western
1	Scenes of details of cattle-branding
1	Jungle film showing animals in pain
1	Electrocution of animals in old film
5	(4.0% of total)
	c: Anti-social
2	Ineffectual teacher in old film
1	Implied encouragement of teen-agers smoking
1	Conveying impression that divorce is easy
1	Confidence game detailed in film
1	Hero's motives not clearly drawn in children's series
1	Supernatural as focus of program
1	Married couple presented as quarreling often
8	(6.4% of total)
	d: Crudity
1	Crude language about sailors
1	Actors working at their neckties in vulgar manner
1	Actors' hands kept in pockets
1	Use of vulgar language by guest comedian
4	(3.2% of total)
	e: Legal
1	Use of designations like "Oscar" without appropriate clearance
1	Burlesque of movies, literary works, radio and television series may impinge on others' legal rights
1	Implied endorsement by F.B.I.
3	(2.4% of total)
	f: Liquor
1	Animals drinking rum
1	Tipsiness shown in circus show for children
1	Social drinking as a device merely to pass time
3	(2.4% of total)
	g: Medical
2	Representation of pain during childbirth
1	Propriety of psychiatric sketch on comedy show
1	Misuse of hypnosis
1	Caesarian section shown
5	(4.0% of total)

	h: Political
2	Possible left-wing propaganda in old film
1	Joke about a senator
3	(2.4% of total)
	i: Racial and Ethnic
1	Representation of Irish as alcoholic
1	Italians called "Wops"
1	Negro stereotype
1	Down-the-nose reference to Japanese and Mexicans
1	Reference to "dumb Polocks"
1	Latins misrepresented
1	Exaggerated reference to gangster's Italian name
1	Chinese laundry stereotype
1	Satire on British speech
1	Television guest made ethnic slurs
1	Series appears to advocate colonialism
11	(8.7% of total)
	j: Religion
3	Use of "damn" and "hell"
1	Minister presented in unfavorable light
4	(3.2% of total)
	h: Sex
12	Comments or scenes concerned with sex
5	Fornication and seduction references
3	Sexy costumes
2	Display of body
2	Homosexual situation
1	Reference to "Ladies' Night at Turkish Bath"
25	(19.9% of total)
	l: Special Interests
1	Use of leather jacket for hoodlum protested by tanners and jacket manufacturers
1	Plumbers presented as crooked
1	Smoking cigarette often shown as cause of asphyxiation
1	Implication that dentists have no feelings
1	Police not handling sick people expeditiously
1	Implied criticism of chiropractors by showing character who could not get M.D. degree and became a chiropractor
1	Motorcyclists presented as delinquents
1	Maligning journalists
1	Too many special interest "weeks"
1	News photographers misrepresented
10	(8.0% of total)

	m: Spoofing the Serious
17	References to mental illness as "crazy," "nuts," "cracked," and similar slang terms.
1	Children breaking into mail box
18	(14.3% of total)

	n: Violence
4	Details of murder or assault
3	Sadistic descriptions
2	Children's show has details of crime
2	Details of horror situations
1	Science fiction film ghastly
12	(10.3% of total).

Advertising (Table Ia): The informal restrictions on print media advertising are generally more detailed than are similar restrictions for television advertising. The television sponsor may, however, have the right to suggest script changes, which a print media advertiser could not do to a magazine story. The network demands written proof of every advertising claim before a commercial is approved. A substantial number of commercials are rejected each year for reasons like those noted in Table Ia. The National Association of Broadcasters and the Federal Trade Commission both have staffs which monitor commercials.

The maximum length of commercials is fixed by Code regulations. It is the "back-to-back" sequence of commercials at a station break which often gives the impression that the commercials consume an inordinate amount of time. Another reason for the public's sensitization to frequency of commercials is that television stations are permitted to have all their programs sponsored, although the public has various erroneous impressions about there being certain proportions of time which are required to be free of commercials.

Animals (Table Ib): Television is traditionally so cautious about presenting animals that there is an apocryphal industry wheeze about a scene in which a dog was to bark at a bear. A man in a bear suit was used in order to avoid possible difficulties with the humane society. There would appear to be little disagreement that animals should not be treated brutally on television shows.

Anti-social (Table Ic): Anti-social content is that which implicitly attacks institutions or established customs, or the government, or which appears to praise some socially disapproved activity. Program content which will affect younger viewers as a possible disparagement of authority is especially studied.

One reason for the degree of concern over such content is the fear that parts of the audience will emulate anti-social behavior like pickpocketing, or that it may learn some techniques of crime or destructive behavior. Against such possibilities, it must be remembered that almost all television crimes are solved, whereas only about 35 per cent of the crimes known to the police are solved.

The glorification of police in American popular culture is greater than in that of any other country. No other country has any analogue for the veneration accorded F.B.I. chief J. Edgar Hoover. Even the glamorous private detective in television turns his quarry over to the police.

Crudity (Table Id): Every attempt is made to cut both language and visual crudity from television programs. Crudity is especially likely to be a matter of concern in presentations of bodily functions, in old films, and in the appearance of personalities who were trained in the less inhibited school of the night club.

Legal (Table Ie): Although there were relatively few comments on legal matters, such matters are closely watched by a network. In some states a station is even legally liable for defamatory remarks made by someone appearing on a network program.

If a situation resembles a current news situation or has relevance to some ongoing legal action, there may on occasion be a disclaimer of similarity to any reality situations.

Another legal area of concern is in the representation of lawyers. The power of complaints from lawyers can be inferred from the threatening connotations of the phrase "lawyer's letter." Lawyers are very sensitive to how they are represented on television, perhaps as one reflection of their long history of being attacked.

Liquor (Table If): Most of the comments in Table If represent letters from the audience, especially from a few midwest states. Dry groups have been powerful enough to keep liquor advertising off television and no network or station has carried such advertising, although some have tried and then changed their plans. The dries are very sensitive to the representation of what they regard as too much social drinking on the screen.

Medical (Table Ig): Medical matters are likely to be questioned by editors or viewers primarily because of the extreme realism which television makes possible. The relatively large number of television medical programs during this period would probably have yielded more comments if close attention were not paid to medical content. Physicians are almost never presented unflaterringly on television.

Political (Table Ih): The relatively infrequent treatment of controversial political matters by television, except during a political campaign, can be inferred from the small number of comments on political matters. The decision to avoid controversial material of a political nature may be made before a dramatic program ever reaches the script stage. In 1956, for example, two different television producers were reported to be thinking of doing "The Male Animal," a play the plot of which hinges on a professor's right to read a letter by Bartolomeo Vanzetti at a public meeting. Both producers were reported to have rejected the play because of the dependence of the plot on the letter.

Racial and ethnic (Table Ii): The racial and ethnic stereotypes which flourished in cartoons and motion pictures for decades are almost never seen on television. Negroes have been presented on the network without any special identification for some years. Contemporary television programs generally avoid presenting stereotyped minority groups, and may even err in the other extreme by presenting minority groups only minimally. American Indians represent the only minority group which did not protest its representation on television. Even they have recently begun protesting the stereotype of the Indian with long black braided hair, a band around his forehead and a feather stuck at the back, buckskin breeches with fringe, and painted fierce face.

Religion (Table Ij): Religious matters are likely to be scrutinized very closely by members of the television audience. Although network religious programs are likely to have very small audiences, the appearance of religious content in other programs is likely to elicit audience comments if the content is perceived as inappropriate. Mail response to errors of omission or commission on religion is perhaps comparatively greater than to any of the thirteen other areas.

The differences between faiths are not likely to be emphasized in television programs, and even repeating some of the almost Voltairean comments on religion of men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson might possibly develop a storm of protest. It is difficult to imagine a broadcaster who might, for example, have a discussion based on the United States treaty with Tripoli which was signed by George Washington in 1795. This treaty states that "the free government of the United States is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion."[13]

A problem in presenting ministers in dramatic productions is the audience's frequent tendency to assume that any one minister is a representative of all the ministers of his faith. Another problem at least historically related to religion is that Federal laws still provide for a fine for profanity in broadcasts.[14] Although there have been some ghost stories on television, the possible objections of some religious groups may have caused the cancellation of other contemplated ghost programs.

Sex (Table Ik): Deletions because of some kind of sexual content were more numerous than any other kind for each year studied. Inasmuch as the network editor is especially alert to "blue" material, such content is carefully examined. The quiet disappearance of the "television neckline" of the early 1950's suggests how effective self-policing has been. Just what constitutes obscenity is a very debatable and complicated subject on which there is no judicial agreement. Practically nothing is intrinsically obscene; the dimension of obscenity is provided by the cultural matrix. Even in Catholic moral theology on the definition of the obscene, " . . . very little readily comes to hand. This may come as a surprise, especially to those who have thought

that the Catholic Church has succeeded in reducing life and thought to a precise set of neat axioms."[15]

Sex taboos differ from one medium to another, and even on different formats within one medium. In sex, as in other dimensions of freedom of expression, the theatre is the most emancipated medium. It will be remembered that the Broadway theatre was the only medium which was never accused of engaging in "blacklisting," and Actors' Equity was the only large employee group in any entertainment industry which established an anti-blacklisting committee. There is a general chronology of adaptation followed by plays which are later shown in other media: the movie adaptation of a play usually comes from two to five years after the play's first appearance, and television adaptations may run about ten years later. Feature films released for television are likely to be shown an average of fifteen years after they were made. Thus it is logical to expect that this time lag will have some effect on the degree of freedom with which sexual matters are discussed and presented on television, as compared with the other media.

Special Interests (Table II): Television's enormous coverage makes it likely that representatives of almost every occupational or special interest group will be watching a network program. Representatives of a trade or profession often are especially sensitive to a presentation of their group which they regard as unflattering or derogatory. Sometimes the special interests represent non-commercial groups, like the organization for the aid of the blind which requested the minimization of cliches like "blind drunk" and "blind as a bat." Since it is often necessary to present some groups as behaving in a non-laudatory way, a television producer may be offending some group or other every time he shows a "heavy." Almost all of the groups referred to in Table II complained to the network about how they had been presented on television.

Spoofing the serious (Table Im): The network editor is concerned where the spoofing of a serious subject is likely to be offensive or in bad taste, particularly when mental illness is referred to flippantly. Audiences may complain if they feel that

an institution or situation is treated too humorously on either a dramatic or comedy show.

The insatiable demands of television for new material have made it into a kind of Medusa for satirists or comedians, who are likely to have a meteoric rise and equally dazzling decline. No television comedian has survived professionally for long enough to have developed and modified his approach and style within a television framework.

Violence (Table In): The word "violence" is listed without qualifications, although in many of the instances cited in Table In the "violence" is alleged or implied. The network report may be calling attention to an instance of actual violence which is excised or to a letter from a viewer in order to suggest that the viewer is inaccurately regarding an expression of conflict as violence. The difficulty of defining violence in operational terms makes the editor's task very difficult.

Perhaps the favorite observation of critics of television is that it unduly emphasizes violence. Conflict and violence are, of course, widely found in contemporary life, and it has been argued that television would be remiss if it did not mirror this aspect of reality.

The vast predominance of young people and young adults as central protagonists of television drama and the general absence of older persons as important *dramatis personae* may be related to the emphasis on activity and violence. This emphasis has been questioned on the ground of it being an implied attack on the value of older people and thus not consonant with the geriatric emphasis of our culture. Of course, some of this emphasis is a reflection of the special time requirements of television drama, in which a great deal may have to be presented in a half hour, so that the action develops in an unavoidably staccato manner and with little opportunity to give the reasons for different kinds of behavior.

Total Deletions, Comments and Changes

The detailed comments for 1956 were shown in Table I above. The total breakdown of deletions, comments and changes by category during the 1954 - 1956 period is given in Table II.

TABLE II

Total Comments for 1954-1956

Subject Category	Total Number of Comments	Percentage of Total
Sex	110	20.7%
Violence	65	12.2
Advertising	60	11.3
Racial-Ethnic	47	8.8
Spoofing Serious	44	8.2
Anti-Social	44	8.2
Special Interests	38	7.1
Religion	28	5.3
Crudity	27	5.1
Liquor	23	4.3
Medical	17	3.2
Animals	16	3.0
Legal	8	1.5
Political	6	1.1
TOTALS:	532	100.0%

The degree to which any of the fourteen categories of deletions, changes or comments, were more or less important in each year from 1954 through 1956, should provide clues to the extent to which the work of the network screeners has different emphases from one year to the other. Even if there were any bias in the screeners' selection of changes for their monthly reports, it may be assumed that the bias is in the direction of presenting change from month to month and from year to year. If there are realignments in the degree of importance of any of these dimensions over the three years studied, such realignments would be reflected in the number of comments in each category and thus in the comparative rank of each category for that year. In order to clarify these realignments the categories were ranked within each year on the basis of the number of comments within each category.[16] The Spearman rank correlation coefficient was computed for the years 1954-1955, 1955-1956 and 1954-1956. The rank correlation between 1954 and 1955 is .78; between 1954 and 1956 it is .76; and between 1955 and 1956 it is .69. Each of these categories is significant at better than the one per cent level of significance.

The lowest degree of correlation should be between the individual years 1954 and 1956, if the greatest differences are associated with the greatest distance in time. The degree of correlation, however, is greater between 1954 and 1956 (.76) than between 1955 and 1956 (.69), suggesting that changes in emphasis are not a direction function of changes in time. Additionally, the coefficient of concordance was computed for 1954-1955-1956 as an independent recheck on the Spearman rank correlation.[17] It was found to be .79, indicating a close overall agreement among the comparative ranks of the categories from year to year. Snedecor's F was computed (.43) as a measure of significance of the coefficient of concordance and confirmed that there was no significant degree of variation in rank in the years studied.

There would appear to be considerable stability in the content areas within which monitoring occurs, on the basis of the Spearman rank correlation analysis by pairs of years and the coefficient of concordance for all three years. The major emphases of this network's program examination thus appears to be significantly stable. This suggests that the broadcasting code itself and the requirements of the medium and of our culture remain fairly constant in terms of admissible program content. It is, of course, possible—but unlikely— that the relatively high degree of homogeneity of content change between 1954 and 1956 may represent the tail end or beginning of a period with a more accelerated rate of change.

In spite of the considerable stability of the fourteen categories' relative importance, a substantial overall decrease in the number of comments and deletions was reported from one year to the next. This probably reflects the increasing internalization of the norms of the program-screening group by producers and writers of the network.

Conclusion

The detailing of the typical deletions and comments above must be considered against the network's total program output. The comments and deletions in these reports, of course, represent a small representative fraction of the changes, emendations, and

audience comments to many thousands of programs screened by the monitoring group during the three years studied. In the face of the pressures involved in screening such a huge volume of program output it would appear that the screening group has a very difficult job which it is executing with reasonable permissiveness. Within the framework of the television code, its deletions and changes are not often arguable, except by those who feel that all censorship is undesirable and that the television code should be scrapped. The matter-of-fact work of the network censors does not seem to represent the sort of interference with free expression around which the "great debate" on censorship has raged. We can only speculate on the extent to which television may have lost freedom and vitality because its creative personnel knew that there would be a network censor scrutnizing their work. A content analysis of the censor's work cannot measure this kind of intangible, however important it may be.

It appears visionary to expect that the censor's function will disappear in the immediate future. The qualities which make a television writer or producer distinguished are not necessarily those which make him alert to material offensive to some parts of the audience. Specially trained personnel to exercise editorial responsibility would appear to be a necessity, so long as sponsors pay for programs, and the concept of media responsibility for its out put remains a "given" of our culture. The development of non-network toll television and of new program format may conceivably alter the nature of the censor's functions or ultimately lead to the disappearance of the function.

Footnotes

[1]*Variety*, December 4, 1957, p. 1.

[2]For a discussion of the background of censorship in America, see Charles Winick, *Taste And The Censor In Television.* New York: Fund For The Republic, 1959.

[3]Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947. A U. S. Supreme Court decision in the case of the film, "The Miracle," on May 26, 1952, brought films under the protection of the First Amendment.

[4]Walter Lippmann, "The Young Criminals." *New York Herald-Tribune*, September 7, 1957.

[5]John Twomey, "New Forms of Social Control Over Mass Media Content," *Studies in Public Communications, 1,* (Summer, 1957), p. 42, *et. seq.*

[6]For example, *U.S.* v. *Roth,* 354, U.S. 476, and *One, Incorporated* vs. *Olesen,* 355 U.S. 371.

[7]See annual reports of The American Civil Liberties Union.

[8]The only systematic listing of censorship deletion is: National Council on Freedom From Censorship, *What Shocked the Censors: A Complete Record of Cuts in Motion Picture Films Ordered by the New York State Censors from January 1932 to March 1933.* New York: The Council, 1933.

[9]Leo C. Rosten, Hollywood: *The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1941; Arthur E. Rowse, *Slanted News.* Boston: Beacon, 1957.

[10]National Association of Broadcasters, *The Television Code.* Washington: The Association, 1956, (3rd ed.).

[11]The National Broadcasting Company. Thanks are due the NBC network for opening all its program files, without any qualifications or restrictions, to the author. Special thanks are due Stockton Helffrich, former Director of NBC Continuity Acceptance, for this most generous encouragement and co-operation. The author is, of course, alone responsible for the use and interpretations he has made of this material.

[12]The author established the fourteen categories. Thanks are due Mariann Pezzella, Joseph Rosner, and Meryl Silver, for their participation in this analysis. Chi-square was used to measure the very high degree of inter-judge reliability in categorization.

[13]*U.S. Statutes At Large,* Vol. 8, p. 155.

[14]Duncan v. U.S., 48, F 2nd 128, 9th Cir., 1931.

[15]Harold C. Gardiner, S.J., "Moral Principles Toward A Definition of the Obscene," *Law and Contemporary Problems,* 20 (Autumn, 1955), p. 561.

[16]A value of 1 was given to a category which showed no comments in a given year.

[17]The coefficient (W) was determined from the formula

$$W = \frac{12\ S}{M^2\ (N^3 - N)}$$

See Maurice S. Kendell and William R. Buckland, *A Dictionary of Statistical Terms.* New York: Hafner, 1957.

Future Increase in Subscription Rates

Reluctantly, because of steady and substantial increases in printing and other costs, it will be necessary to raise the subscription rates of the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, effective January 1, 1962. This increase will enable the JOURNAL to meet production expenses for the most part, although the publication will continue to incur a substantial deficit each year. The increase was voted by the APBE Board of Directors in May.

Orders received for Volume VI (1962) before January 1, 1962, will be honored at the lower rates now in effect. After January 1, 1962, the following rates will apply:

	Regular	Student
Annual subscription	$6.00	$3.00
Single copies, current issue	1.75	1.25
Back issues, complete volumes	6.00	5.00
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With the exception of Volume I, Number 1, all back issues of the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING are available for sale to subscribers, libraries and others wishing to complete their files.

The current price for a single copy is $1.50. Complete volumes (four issues) may be obtained until January 1, 1962 at the current subscription rate of $5.00. All sales are made by the JOURNAL office.

The Evolution of FM Radio:

As Reported in the Annual Reports of the Federal Communications Commission

First Annual Report of the FCC — 1935

This history of FM broadcasting, presented in the form of verbatim extracts from official Annual Reports *of the FCC, is one of a series of such excerpts. "The Evolution of Television: 1927-1943" appeared in the Summer, 1960 issue of the* JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, *while the years 1944-1948 were covered in the Winter 1960-61 issue. The story of FM radio in the years after 1940 will appear in future issues of the* JOURNAL.

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Experimental High Fidelity Broadcast (pp. 25-26)—Three frequencies in the band from 1,500 to 1,600 kilocycles have been continued for a special class of broadcast stations. These stations are designated as "experimental high-fidelity broadcast stations." The frequencies allocated are 1,530, 1,550, and 1,570 kilocycles. On June 30, 1935, there were four such stations in operation.

These stations are licensed for the purpose of carrying on research and development in the radio art and are equipped to transmit high fidelity programs. It is the obligation of the licensees of these stations to carry on research and development in the broadcast technical art which is in advance of the work done by the licensees of regular broadcast stations. The transmission of sponsored programs is permitted on the condition that sponsorship will not interfere with the program of research and that the conduct of experiments will not depend solely upon the sponsorship as a means of defraying the cost of experimentation.

Complete reports of the research and development are required each 6 months with the applications for renewal of licenses. The 4 licensed stations have made 1 report with the renewal application for their first 6 months or less of operation.

Second Annual Report of the FCC —1936

Special Broadcast Stations (formerly Experimental High-Fidelity Broadcast) (p. 61)—Authorizations for this type of regular

broadcast station on the frequencies of 1,530, 1,550, and 1,570 kilocycles, are issued only to those primarily interested in a special program of research leading to the development of high-fidelity program transmissions (at least 10 kilocycle audio frequency transmissions). The broadcast of sponsored programs is incidental to the program of research. All rules governing regular broadcast stations apply to special broadcast stations, which are, therefore, required to have frequency monitors, modulation monitors, protected equipment, etc., and are issued a license for a period of 6 months. Five applications were filed during the past year, but none have received final consideration and no grants for new stations were made. There are four stations of this type in operation at the present time.

Third Annual Report of the FCC — 1937

High-Frequency Broadcast Service (p. 38) — Definition of Service. The term "high-frequency broadcast station" means a station licensed on frequencies above 25,000 kilocycles for the transmission of aural programs for general public reception. The frequencies for these stations are allocated on the experimental basis.

Stations and applications.—At the close of the fiscal year there were 40 authorizations in effect in the high-frequency broadcast service. These authorizations consisted of 28 station licenses and 12 construction permits. Only 10 applications were in the files awaiting consideration by the Commission. The interest in stations of this class has not continued to develop, a fact which may be attributed to the lack of receivers in the hands of the public that can be tuned to these frequencies (26,000 to 42,000 kilocycles). These stations are licensed on an experimental basis with the proposed program of research as the primary object. The simultaneous rebroadcasting of programs of regular broadcast stations is incidental to the research and is used only as a source of desirable modulation. While some information has been submitted on the propagation characteristics of these high frequencies and indications are favorable for a good broadcast service on them, nevertheless more engineering data are desired before a definite allocation can be attempted.

Fourth Annual Report of the FCC — 1938

High-Frequency Broadcast Service (p. 66)—High-frequency broadcast stations are classified in two general groups, depending upon the type of modulation used.

The system of modulation known as amplitude modulation is the system in most general use for speech and music transmission by radio. It was the first system developed and has long been used by standard broadcast stations. Amplitude modulation involves a system of varying the amplitude of the carrier current in accordance with the audio-frequency electrical current representing voice, music or other sound.

The other type of modulation, known as frequency modulation, involves a system whereby the frequency of the carrier current is varied in accordance with the electrical current corresponding to music, voice, or other sound. This type of modulation has been the subject of recent extensive investigation by several experimenters. For optimum operation, this system requires a frequency band of emission approximating 200 kc when operating on frequencies approximating 40 megacycles.

The engineering information submitted by the 37 licensees of high-frequency broadcast stations operating on an experimental basis has not been sufficiently comprehensive for a conclusive determination of the propagation characteristics of the frequencies allocated to these stations. However, more data are being accumulated and after a full analysis has been made it is believed that adequate technical information will be available for an allocation of frequencies above 30 megacycles for a high-frequency broadcast service. Stations of this class increased 39 percent during the last fiscal year.

Available data concerning the use of frequency modulation in the high-frequency broadcast service indicate a material gain in the effectiveness of reception through static, especially the type of static resulting from nearby thunderstorms and from some types of man-made electrical disturbances. It is also shown that the signal-to-noise ratio necessary for satisfactory reception is considerably less than that required for the same reception with a

broadcast system employing amplitude modulation. This results in good reception at a greater distance from the transmitter and a correspondingly larger service area for the same power used at the transmitter. The present disadvantage of this system is that the frequency band necessary is increased several fold over that required by a system employing amplitude modulation. No information, other than reports on preliminary tests, is yet available from the holders of the five construction permits for the erection of stations employing frequency modulation of this class.

Fifth Annual Report of the FCC — 1939

High Frequency (pp. 48-49)—High frequency broadcast stations are classified into two general groups depending upon the type of modulation used.

The system of modulation known as amplitude modulation is a system in most general use for speech and music transmission by radio. It was the first system developed and has long been used by standard broadcast stations. Amplitude modulation involves a system of varying the amplitude of the carrier current in accordance with the audio frequency electrical current resulting from the conversion of sound energy into electrical energy.

The other system of modulation, known as frequency modulation, is a system whereby the frequency of the carrier current is varied in accordance with an audio frequency electrical current resulting from the conversion of sound energy into electrical energy. This system of modulation has been the subject of considerable research and experimentation and is known to possess characteristics especially favorable in discriminating against noise and interference. For high fidelity operation, this system has been operated with a frequency band of emission approximating 200 kilocycles when operating on frequencies around 40,000 kilocycles.

The licensees of the various high frequency broadcast stations operating on an experimental basis have been required to actively prosecute a program of research and experimentation during the present license period. When applications for renewal of license were received by the Commission, careful study was made of the work the licensee had carried on during the past license period and

the work it proposed to carry on during the next license period. If the licensee had failed to actively prosecute a program of research and experimentation compatible with the Commission's rules and regulations and did not indicate that it would prosecute such a program during the ensuing license period, the application for renewal of license was designated for hearing. When the licensee indicated that he had done some work and would continue to do so, the Commission requested prior to the granting of renewal of license, a specific commitment be made relative to the appropriation and the personnel the licensee would provide during the next license period in order to prosecute such a program of research and experimentation. When a licensee had actively prosecuted a program of research and experimentation, the renewal was granted in the usual manner.

It is expected that the experimental reports submitted at the end of the present license period will contain a large amount of valuable information relative to the propagation characteristics and coverage possibilities of these frequencies and provide a contrast between the two systems of modulation, as well as serve as an index to the allocation problem of frequency modulated stations.

Educational Broadcast. The term "noncommercial educational" broadcast station is used to identify a high-frequency broadcast station licensed to an organized nonprofit educational agency for the advancement of its educational work and for the transmission of educational and entertainment programs to the general public. Stations of this class will be licensed only to an organized nonprofit educational agency and upon a showing that the station will be used for the advancement of the agency's educational program. In particular, the applicant for this class of station must show that the transmissions will be directed to specific schools in a system, or for use in connection with regular courses, as well as routine and administrative material pertaining to a school system.

Sixth Annual Report of the FCC — 1940

Television Systems Study—In consideration of the needs of high-frequency broadcasting and also the needs of television, the Commission found that 40 channels should be allocated to the broadcasting service between 40,000 and 50,000 kilocycles while

continuing 7 television channels 6,000 kilocycles wide below 108,000 kilocycles, the present practical limit for television boardcasting.

This was accomplished by reallocating the band 44,000 to 50,000 kilocycles previously allotted to television to the high frequency broadcast service. The band of frequencies from 42,000 to 50,000 kilocycles was made available for aural broadcasting. The same number of television channels below 108,000 kilocycles was maintained by assigning the band 60,000 to 66,000 kilocycles to television in place of 44,000 to 50,000 kilocycles.

Frequency Modulation (pp. 66-68)—Hearing and Report. The Commission has licensed experimental stations on frequencies above 25,000 kilocycles over a number of years for the development of such frequencies to render a regular broadcast service. When the frequency modulation [FM] hearing started on March 18, 1940, 31 such experimental stations were authorized to use amplitude modulation and 22 stations for frequency modulation. A total of 173 applications were filed for new frequency modulation stations before and subsequent to the hearing.

As a result of the evidence adduced at two weeks of hearing, and investigations conducted by its staff, the Commission concluded that frequency modulation had advanced to a stage where the establishment of a commercial service was desirable in the public interest.

In the Commission's Report on Frequency Modulation dated May 20, 1940, the Commission stated:

> Frequency modulation is highly developed. It is ready to move forward on a broad scale and on a full commercial basis. On this point there is complete agreement amongst the engineers of both the manufacturing and the broadcasting industries. A substantial demand for FM (frequency modulation) transmitting stations for full operation exists today. A comparable public demand for receiving sets is predicted. It can be expected, therefore, that this advancement in the broadcast art will create employment for thousands of persons in the manufacturing, installation, and maintenance of transmitting and receiving equipment and the programming of such stations.

How "FM" Operates. In brief, the basic difference between amplitude [used by standard broadcast] and frequency modula-

tion is as follows: Modulation is a process of imparting sound or other signals (intelligence) to the transmitted radio wave. Radio waves have two defining characteristics—amplitude (intensity) and frequency. With amplitude modulation the sound controls the amplitude of the radio wave transmitted, while the frequency remains constant. Conversely, frequency modulation varies the frequency of the radio wave in accordance with the sound, while the amplitude remains constant. The principle of frequency modulation has long been known but its advantages for a wide range system were not developed until recently.

Frequency modulation has advantages over amplitude modulation. Foremost is the reduction of noise present in the received signal. Man-made, electrical, and atmospheric radio noises consist primarily of amplitude variations. Frequency modulation signals have an inherent advantage in discriminating against noise since the amplitude is maintained constant throughout the frequency modulation system. Secondly, experimental operations have developed the fact that a greater signal from another station in the same channel could be tolerated than with amplitude modulation, making for a closer possible geographical separation of stations. Frequency modulation has the characteristic of excluding all except the strongest signal.

The fact that stations may be operated at relatively close geographical separations on the same channel counters the disadvantage that frequency modulation signals occupy a greater place in the spectrum than do amplitude modulation signals. (An amplitude modulation channel occupies 40 kilocycles while a wide band frequency modulation channel occupies 200 kilocycles.)

Wide Band Use. The high frequency broadcast service has been developed on frequencies above 30,000 kilocycles because of the wide band required (200 kilocycles) and because the signals received must be confined principally to the ground wave for satisfactory results. Sufficient space is available in this region for the wide bands of frequencies required for frequency modulation signals. The coverage of high frequency broadcast stations in the band 42,000 to 50,000 kilocycles is substantially the same at night as it is during the day. However, such stations have not exhibited

long distance coverage properties as obtained, particularly at night, with present high-power clear-channel standard broadcast stations.

"FM" Coverage. A high frequency broadcast station using frequency modulation with the highest present day practical power (50 kilowatts) and antenna of reasonable height (1,000 feet or so) has a primary service area approximately 100 miles in radius over reasonably level ground. Accordingly, amplitude modulation in the standard broadcast band may be required indefinitely for the purpose of giving widespread rural coverage.

For the coverage of centers of population and trade areas, this new class of station offers a distinct improvement. Since its useful signal is propagated along the ground, the coverage obtainable with high frequency broadcast stations is dependent upon two factors: the effective radiated power and the height of the antenna above the service area. The operating power alone is not an indication of the coverage of the station. Doubling the height of the antenna increases service area equivalent to increasing the transmitting power four times. All of the frequencies in the band 42,000 to 50,000 kilocycles have substantially the same characteristics as regards coverage, while the standard broadcast band stations of equal power operating at the extremities of the band have widely different service areas.

High Frequency Rules and Standards. The Commission on June 22, 1940, promulgated its rules governing high-frequency broadcast stations. These stations are to be governed by the applicable sections of the "Rules Governing Standard Broadcast Stations." Three groups of frequencies have been set aside for stations on the basis of coverage to be given.

Unlike standard broadcast stations, frequency modulation stations are licensed to service "basic" and "limited" trade areas, with particular consideration for rural service where possible.

Under Commission rules and regulations governing this new high frequency broadcast service, FM stations are available to every community. Not subject to the same interference as standard broadcast stations, they can operate on the same channel with less mileage separation. However, FM stations serving the same area are not assigned adjacent channels. Consequently, a number

of FM stations using alternate channels may operate in the same area without interfering with one another.

FM stations are authorized to serve specified areas in square miles. Service in places where more than one station may be located is comparable except for variables due to antenna height and other engineering considerations.

Twenty-two channels are open to stations serving basic and limited trade areas with populations of more than 25,000 each. Six channels are allocated for service areas with less than that population, and 7 channels are reserved for stations intended to each primarily serve a rural area at least 15,000 square miles in extent.

To obviate possible monopoly, and to encourage local initiative, no person or group is permitted to control more than one FM station in the same area, and not more than six in the Nation as a whole. At the outset, the Commission is requiring a daily (except Sunday) minimum operating schedule for FM stations of at least 3 hours during the day and 3 hours at night. To demonstrate the capabilities of the new service, an hour a day minimum must be devoted to programs not duplicated simultaneously in the same area, which means programs distinct from standard broadcast. Otherwise, FM operation is governed largely by the standard broadcast rules.

FM and standard broadcast will not mutually interfere because, as previously explained, these two types of service are on widely separated bands. Because of their different positions in the spectrum, FM cannot be received on standard broadcast receivers and, likewise, standard broadcast cannot be received on FM sets. Also, the two services require different transmitting equipment.

The Commission has also promulgated "Standards of Good Engineering Practice" wherein a procedure is set forth for determining the coverage expected from a proposed station. Account must necessarily be taken of the topography of the service area. Since stations are licensed on the basis of their coverage, provision has been made in the standards for subsequent measurement of the actual coverage and adjustments to enable the station to establish that it in fact actually serves the area for which it is licensed.

It is difficult to accurately predict the service area of a proposed FM station because of the large number of variables encountered.

Through limited to the use of K or W as the initial letter, the Commission has provided distinctive calls for FM broadcast stations by adopting a new system of call letters with interposed numbers. Following the initial letter two numbers are utilized to indicate the frequency assignment. This is possible because all FM stations are on the odd hundreds of kilocycles in the 42,000-50,000 kilocycles band. Thus, the first figure and the last two figures of the frequency assignment can be dropped. In addition, and where possible, the city or area will be indicated by the second letter or combination of a second and third letter—as "B" for Boston, "NY" for New York City, etc. For example: W41B would indicate that the station is located in Boston and operates on 44,100 kilocycles. The letter "E," however, is reserved for noncommercial educational broadcast stations.

Noncommercial Educational Broadcast Service (p. 69)—Licenses for noncommercial educational broadcast stations are issued to organized nonprofit educational agencies upon showing that the station will be used to advance the agency's educational program, particularly pertaining to its use in a system comprising several units. In addition, educational and entertainment programs may be directed to the public. Sponsored or commercial programs or announcements are not permitted.

The Commission's Order No. 67 provided for the reallocation of the frequency band assigned to noncommercial educational broadcast stations, the only change being that the band for such stations has been placed 1000 kilocycles higher in the spectrum. This arrangement provides for five 200-kilocycle channels adjacent to the high frequency broadcast band. These stations are to use frequency modulation unless a showing of need for amplitude modulation is made. The 1000 kilocycles set aside in the lower part of the band allocated to commercial broadcast stations not only places the educational stations on an entirely independent basis but also gives them the benefits of the developments in the service rendered by commercial stations.

Qualitative Information Concerning Audiences of Network Television Programs

BY HARRISON B. SUMMERS

All too often, it is assumed that the broadcast audience measurement services only supply ratings of individual programs. Often overlooked is the vast amount of ancillary material of a qualitative nature published with the ratings themselves. This material (dependent of course, for accuracy on the sampling procedures of the various measurement services) is of immense value to persons interested in the deeper and longer range aspects of audience behavior and composition.

It is interesting to note that the Madow report (see p. 165) only devotes two pages to qualitative information. The article that follows was written prior to publication of the Madow committee report and is derived independently from the original sources. In that connection, Dr. Summers wishes particularly to thank Mr. John Thayer of ARB, Mr. H. Wynn Bussmann of Nielsen, Dr. Sydney Roslow of Pulse, Mr. Eugene L. Reilly of Trendex and Mr. Henry Brenner of TvQ for their assistance in providing information and in checking the manuscript of this article for accuracy.

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THE first program rating service, the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting, supplied its members with ratings of major network programs starting with the season of 1929-30. CAB ratings were based on use of a telephone recall technique in cities in which the three then-existing radio networks had outlets; although undoubtedly less accurate than the audience measurements of later years, the CAB ratings did at least give an index to the popularity of various network programs.

The C. E. Hooper Company was founded in the autumn of 1935. Hooper provided monthly ratings of sponsored network programs based on telephone calls placed during the periods when the programs rated were being broadcast. The A. C. Nielsen Company, already well established as a market research concern, entered the radio program rating field about 1940 or 1941.

Nielsen ratings were based on information secured from mechanical recording devices or Audimeters, attached to receiving sets in a nationwide sample that at its peak included some 1500 homes, with farms and small towns as well as large cities represented. Still another rating service, Pulse, which had started as a local operation in the New York City area, inaugurated national audience measurements about 1944 or 1945. Pulse made use of the "roster" method, with interviewers asking respondents in representative cities to select from a list of the programs carried during each hour of the broadcasting day those programs to which the family had listened on the day preceding the interview.

Two of these four audience measurement services had disappeared from the network program rating field before television achieved any real importance. The CAB was dissolved about 1943, and six years later Hooper sold his national program rating service to the Nielsen company, which promptly put an end to that phase of the Hooper operation. The two remaining companies, Nielsen and Pulse, added national television ratings to their field of activities before the end of 1950.

The rapid development of network television brought several new audience research concerns into being. The American Research Bureau (ARB) made use of diaries kept by housewives in representative metropolitan areas; recorded in each diary were the television programs tuned in by members of the family group during a specified week. Trendex based its reports on information secured by use of the coincidental telephone method. By 1950, both companies were providing "national"—or at least multi-city—ratings of network television programs.

Today, ARB, Trendex, Nielsen and Pulse constitute the "big four" among research concerns which provide network television program ratings on a national basis, although local measurements of radio or television listening are made available by several other companies. Three of the four major companies—ARB, Nielsen and Pulse—provide either a national rating figure or an estimated total number of television homes reached for every sponsored network television program which is broadcast, during a given week, in a large enough number of markets to make

reasonably accurate audience measurements possible. The fourth company, Trendex, gives ratings only for those network programs broadcast during evening hours. Each of the four services provides a report on the size of program audiences on a regular basis, in most cases once a month.

In addition to its national program measurements based on use of listener diaries, the American Research Bureau offers a second service; rapid "Arbitron" ratings of network programs based on a sample of some 450 typical homes in seven major cities. Use of sets and channels to which sets are tuned are automatically and instantaneously transmitted to a central office over special telephone lines, making it possible for ARB to provide its subscribers among networks, sponsors and advertising agencies with Arbitron ratings for all network programs broadcast in all or most of the seven cities, early on the day following the date of broadcast. Daily rating reports are supplied to subscribers 365 days each year. The Arbitron service provides a fifth available national—or multi-city—rating report on network television programs.

In view of the variety of methods used in securing information, the differences in areas from which samples of reporting homes are selected, and variations in the methods used in selecting the actual homes from which listening data are secured, it is hardly surprising that the national rating figures reported for the same program by different research organizations often show fairly wide variations. These differences in the ratings provided have sometimes caused questioning of the reliability of ratings generally. Such attitudes reflect a lack of understanding of the purpose for which ratings are used and of the methods used by the different audience measurement concerns. None of the rating companies has ever contended that any rating figure is *completely* accurate—except as reflecting within certain statistical limits the listening behavior of the particular sample of families from which program listening information is secured. But the audience measurement companies contend—and rightly—that the ratings they provide give at least an approximate idea of the proportion of homes in which receiving sets are tuned to network television programs, and of the probable relative number of homes within

a specified area in which some member of the family has listened to each rated program. And even though only approximate, such information is of tremendous value to an advertiser who pays enormous sums for sponsorship of a network television program.

Qualitative Information

However, the relative popularity of his program or the estimated number of homes in which the program is heard is only a part of the information needed by the advertiser who uses network television. A company which is attempting to sell shaving soap obviously wants to reach listeners of quite a different type than does a company which advertises breakfast cereals, and a program sponsored by a manufacturer of high priced luxury items must reach families on a different income level than one presented by a chain of cut-rate drug stores. Practically every product advertised on network television tends to be purchased by some one type of listener more than by listeners of other types—by young women, or by housewives in homes with fairly large families, or by families living in houses rather than in apartments, or by men and women who are past middle age. And to be effective in selling that product, a program on which it is advertised must reach, in particular, listeners of the type most likely to buy. So it is important to the sponsor of a network program or to an advertiser who buys participations in such a program, to know not only the approximate proportion or the estimated number of homes in which sets are tuned to the program on which he is spending tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars each week, but also to know something about the kinds of people who make up the audience of that program.

Long before the beginnings of network television, rating organizations recognized the need for providing at least a limited amount of qualitative information concerning audiences. By the early 1940s, Hooper was reporting not only network program ratings—for radio, of course—but also the average number of listeners per home in which a set was tuned to each program, and the proportions of men, women and children included in the total program audience. Pulse provided similar information, probably from the time its national network rating service was

inaugurated; in addition, by the winter of 1947-48, Pulse included in each national program rating report some type of information concerning buying habits of those families in whose homes the program was received. This same type of consumer information was carried over to television when Pulse entered the network television program rating field. From the inception of their television rating services, both ARB and Trendex gave information as to the proportions of men, of women and of children in the audience of each network program. Nielsen alone of the "big four" in the television network rating field was slow to provide reports on types of listeners; the Nielsen Audimeters recorded the periods when television sets were in use and channels to which sets were tuned, but gave no information concerning the individual members of families who were watching programs at any given time. Nielsen did, however, make breakdowns of audiences of specific programs available on special order, securing information from diaries kept by housewives, which were used as the basis of Nielsen's local television ratings.

In November 1957, Trendex made an important addition to its service for network advertisers. It provided, in a special *Television Advertisers Report* published six times a year, a number of items of information concerning the audience of each sponsored evening network television program; the program's rating, the number of viewers per listening home, the proportions of men, women and children included in the program's audience, the proportion of listening homes in which the respondent reached by telephone could correctly identify the sponsor or one of the sponsors of the program, and—in a completely new direction—the percentage of homes tuned to the program in which the "program selector" was a man, a woman or a child. The Trendex *Advertisers Report* marks the beginning of a really serious effort to make qualitative information about audiences available to network advertisers.

The year 1960 saw a major expansion in the regular reporting of information about program audiences by at least three of the rating services. In March of that year, Trendex replaced its *Television Advertisers Report* with a somewhat expanded collection of materials carrying the title of *Trendex Television Program*

Reports. This was followed in July by the first of a new series of quarterly reports by Pulse, titled *Marketing Survey of Network Television Programs;* the July report was issued on an experimental basis, and the first really comprehensive publication in the new series was Report No. 2, based on information secured during November and December of 1960. Finally, the November issue of ARB's *United States Television Audience* included, for the first time, a tremendous amount of audience information which ARB had not previously reported. These various expansions in the quantity of qualitative audience information provided of course reflect the keen competition existing among the several rating companies, but it also reflects a growing and substantial demand from users of network television for a greater amount of information about the people who listen to their programs.

As of the winter of 1960-61, the four major rating services were providing quite different types of information about network program audiences. The A. C. Nielsen company's audience information is contained in the *NTI National Television Audience Composition Report*, issued four times a year, in January, July, October and November. A typical report consists of about 40 pages, 8½ x 11 inches in size. One table in the publication shows national television audience composition by time periods, with separate information for each 15-minute period from 9:00 A.M. to midnight, Monday through Saturday, and for each similar period between 11:00 A.M. and midnight on Sunday. For each time period the table reports the percentage of television-equipped homes in which a television receiving set is in use, the average number of viewers per viewing family, and the percentages of total viewing audience made up respectively of men, women, teenagers from 12 to 18 years of age, and children from 4 to 11 years of age inclusive. In all Nielsen audience composition reports, incidentally, children under four years of age are not included as "viewers."

A second table in the Nielsen booklet shows the number of viewers per viewing home and the percentages of the total audience consisting of men, women, teenagers and children for each of a number of *types* of network programs—general drama, suspense-mystery drama, variety, quiz and audience participa-

tion, informational programs, and so on. A third table provides the same type of audience information for each separate commercial network program. Programs here are divided into three groups: evening programs, programs broadcast during daytime hours Monday through Friday, and programs broadcast during daytime hours on weekends. Under each heading, individual programs are arranged in alphabetical order by program title.

Nielsen information on percentages of homes using television during each time period is taken from Audimeter mechanical records secured from a national cross-section sample of some 1100 homes. Figures showing the number of viewers per listening home come from Audilog diary reports from homes in a national sample of approximately equal size; audience composition information comes from the same Audilog diaries.

A second of the major rating companies, Trendex, provides its quantitative audience information in its *Trendex Television Program Reports*, covering evening programs broadcast during the first week in each month during the winter season from October through January, and with additional reports released during March and May of each year. The Trendex reports are provided in loose-leaf form on sheets approximately 8 by 11 inches; included is information on all television network programs, sustaining as well as commercial, broadcast during the rating week between the hours of 7:30 P.M. and 11:00 P.M., or between 6:00 P.M. and 11:00 P.M. on Sundays. Programs are arranged by days of the week and according to hour of broadcast to permit comparisons of the audiences of competing network programs; none of the other rating services uses this arrangement. Information is secured from coincidental calls, in 27 different cities; a minimum of 1000 calls are placed during each half-hour period from 7:30 P.M. to 11:00 P.M.; the actual number of homes providing information is somewhat smaller due to calls resulting in "no answers" and "line busy" signals. The cities used are limited to those in which each of the three national networks has a separate local affiliate, and ratings of programs are based on only those cities in which the programs considered are broadcast simultaneously.

For each network program, Trendex provides a rating, a figure showing the percentage of homes in which "some one was at home, awake, and able to listen" during the time the program was broadcast, a sets-in-use figure, a breakdown of homes tuned to the program according to the type of family group listening—those with only adults as listeners, those with adults and teenagers, those with adults and younger children, and those in which the listening group included children and teenagers as well as adults. The report also gives a "listeners per set" figure for each program, audience composition information showing the number of men, women, teenagers and children per listening home, a section on "program selectivity" showing the percentage of homes in which the program considered was "selected" by a man, a woman, a teenager, a child, or by mutual agreement of two or more types of listener or in which the receiving set was simply "left on" from the preceding program. The Trendex report continues with a section showing the source of the audience—the proportion of homes tuned to the program which came from each of the other networks, from non-network programs, or from an earlier "sets-off" situation; then a "reaction to the series" section in which the respondent reached by telephone evaluates the series heard as "one of the best," as "good," as "just fair," or as "poor"; and finally, a report on the percentage of homes tuned to the program in which the person responding to the telephone call was able—if necessary with help from others in the listening group—correctly to identify the sponsor or one of the sponsors of the program heard.

It may be mentioned that Trendex alone of the "big four" in the network program rating field offers any information that bears on the subjective evaluation of the program by individual listeners; both the section giving the telephone respondent's classification of the program series and the section showing the percentage of homes in which selection was made by each type of listener gives readers of the report information going somewhat beyond the actual composition of the program audience.

Qualitative information provided by the American Research Bureau is presented in its *United States Television Audience* publication, which appears six times a year, in each case with information secured during a single week — as a rule, the second week

in the month—during the months of November, December, January, March, May and July. The ARB report is presented in a pocket-size booklet about 9 inches by 4 inches; it contains approximately 120 pages, each of which gives audience information for two network programs, or for two 30-minute segments of a program more than an hour in length. ARB reports on both daytime and evening programs, sustaining programs included, which attract enough listeners to make audience breakdowns possible. As a rule, information is given for any evening program heard in an estimated 1,600,000 homes, or with what would be the equivalent of about a 3.3 national rating.

To secure information on program audiences, ARB uses the listener diary method, with diaries kept each month by approximately 1600 families. The homes which make up the sample are chosen on a random basis with both rural and urban areas covered; however, since arrangements for keeping the diaries are made by telephone, only families with listed telephones are included in the ARB sample.

ARB provides for each program a variety of information concerning types of families whose sets are tuned to the program, and the types of individuals listening. With respect to viewing families, the ARB reports the percentage of homes in which the program is watched by a single viewer, by two viewers, by three viewers, and so on; the average size of families whose sets were tuned to the program; the percentage of viewing families with incomes of more than $7,000 a year, and other items of information which are changed in each published report. Individual listeners are considered in greater detail; the report for each program shows the total number of viewers per set, the number of male and of female viewers per set reported in each of seven age classifications, the number of listening heads of families and of listening housewives per set in each of four age groupings, and the percentages of heads of households and of housewives viewing the program in each of five educational categories. The ARB information relating to the age and educational classifications of listeners is considerably more detailed than that offered by any of the other rating organizations.

The last of the "big four" research companies, Pulse, provides what are certainly the most elaborate reports available on characteristics of audiences of network programs. Pulse publishes a *Marketing Survey of Network Television Programs* four times each year; one report covers November and December listening, another listing covers February and March, a third provides information secured during May, and a fourth has audience information secured during August. Each Pulse report is in the form of a book roughly 8½ by 15 inches in size, with cardboard covers, and with approximately 150 pages. Each report gives information concerning the audience of each sponsored network program, daytime or evening, broadcast during the week or weeks in which interviewing was carried on. Each item of information about listeners is presented in a separate table in which programs are listed by title, in alphabetical order.

Pulse uses the roster or aided recall technique. Interviewing is carried on between the hours of 5:00 and 8:00 P.M., when a maximum number of both men and women will be available. Pulse representatives conduct a total of 250 interviews in as many different homes each evening during the selected interviewing week; respondents in each home are asked to identify, on a list of programs placed in their hands, the programs they personally watched before 5:00 in the afternoon on the day of the interview, and then from a second listing to identify the once-a-week night-time programs to which they listened during the preceding seven days. This method secures information on listening to five-times-a-week programs from a total of 1250 families, and on the tuning-in of once-a-week programs from a total of 1750 families. The homes included in the Pulse sample are chosen from interviewing "blocks" in somewhat less than 250 randomly-selected counties throughout the United States, and interviews are secured from non-telephone as well as telephone families and from families living in rural as well as in urban areas.

As noted earlier, information concerning each audience characteristic is reported in a separate table. In the report for November-December 1960, Pulse estimates for each program the number of viewers under 12 years of age, the number from 12 to 17 years of age, the number of viewing males from 18 to 39 years of age,

the number of males 40 years of age or older, and the number of female viewers in each of the same two age categories. Other tables give information concerning the families whose sets are tuned to the program: the percentage of listening families in which the head of the household is a professional man or manager, in which he is a white-collar worker or salesman, or in which he is a foreman, craftsman or laborer; the percentage of viewing families with incomes of more than $6,000 a year and the percentage with incomes from $4,000 to $5,999; the percentage of families in which the head of the household has had some college training; the percentage spending $30 or more a week for food and groceries, and the percentage whose food expenditures are from $20 to $29 a week; the percentage of households in which there are children under two years of age, and the percentage in which the family group consists of five or more persons.

But as the title of the report would indicate, the greatest portion of the information supplied by Pulse deals with characteristics of families or of individual listeners with respect to consumption of products. Pulse estimates for each network program the proportion of viewing families which have slide projectors, motion picture cameras, electric dishwashers, laundry washing machines, clothes driers, or electric freezing units; the number owning dogs or other pets; the number of individual viewers who use ready-to eat cereals on a regular basis, and the number who have used a headache remedy during the week preceding the interview; the number of males and of females in the program audience who smoke cigarettes, or who drink "regular" or instant coffee; on the number of male viewers who use electric shavers, and the number of females who within a specified number of weeks have purchased lipstick, eye shadow, nail enamel, hair spray or a home permanent preparation. The list of consumer items above is not complete, but it does provide a very good idea of the type of information Pulse reports about both listening families and individual listeners to each network program. In each of the four reports released each year, a somewhat different group of listener characteristics will be considered; however, the items which Pulse considers of greatest importance will be included at least twice in each annual series of four reports, and some items will be considered in all four of the reports.

This discussion of the types of qualitative audience information now made available by program rating concerns would not be complete without some consideration of an entirely different type of service, provided by a research organization that does not concern itself with ratings or with measurements of the size of audiences of programs—the National TvQ Service of the home Testing Institute. TvQ attempts to measure the degrees of *liking* which listeners in various sex and age categories have for each network program, as represented by a series of "TvQ scores" reported each month for each program.

Information on which TvQ scores are based is secured by use of mail questionnaires. For its product testing activities, the Home Testing Institute maintains a permanent panel of some 12,000 housewives, representing a carefully selected cross section of American homes. From this group, a different sub-sample of 1,000 housewives is chosen each month, also a carefully controlled cross-section. Questionnaires are mailed to these housewives to be filled out by each member of the family group, including children over six years of age. As a rule, usable questionnaires are returned by from 2,200 to 2,300 individual respondents representing some 700 to 750 households, each month. The questionnaires contain a list of all network program series and one-time programs—major sustaining programs included—which have been broadcast during the preceding 30-day period; each respondent is asked to check those programs that he has "ever heard" at any time in the past and with which he is consequently "familiar." In addition, the respondent is instructed to indicate for each "familiar" program whether he considers it as "one of his favorites," as "very good," as "good," as "fair," or as "poor." The percentage of those respondents "familiar" with a program who indicate that it is "one of his favorites" becomes the program's TvQ score.

In its regular reports, published each month since June 1958 under the title *National TvQ Service*, and containing from 40 to 50 8½ by 11 inch pages, TvQ scores are provided for each network program, as well as figures showing the percentage of respondents who are "familiar" with the program. A separate TvQ score and familiarity figure is given for all respondents taken collectively, for all male and all female listeners, for male listeners

over 18 years of age and female listeners of equivalent age, and for listeners comprising each of five age groups. Special reports issued at intervals give similar TvQ scores for respondents in various family income and place of residence classifications and for adults with each of several amounts of formal education.

As pointed out by TvQ officials, the "liking" scores give at least a rough sort of index to the amount of attention likely to be given each program by listeners of different types — the assumption of course being that there is a fairly direct relationship between the extent of an individual's "liking" for a program and the degree of attention he may be expected to give that program, if included in its listening audience.

The "degree of liking" information reported by TvQ is not duplicated in the materials provided by any of the "big four" rating services. Trendex does report the proportions of homes tuned to the program in which the telephone respondent classes the program as "one of the best," "good," "fair" or "poor," but this evaluation is given by the member of the family who happens to answer the telephone and gives no idea of the reaction to the program of each individual type of listener included in the family group. At least on the basis of casual inspection, the Trendex figures on "program selectors" seem to have a closer relationship to the TvQ reports on types of listeners who show strongest "liking" for any given program.

From the materials presented in these pages, it is evident that the four rating organizations, ARB, Nielsen, Pulse and Trendex, are among them providing a wealth of information concerning the types of families and equally, the types of individuals included in the audiences of network programs, and that this information is supplemented by TvQ's indices to the degree of "liking" of listeners of different types for those same programs. To be sure, it can hardly be claimed that the figures reported by any of the research organizations are completely characteristic of the entire television population; samples tend to be limited to listeners in well established family groups, including less than a proportionate number of transients or of what the U. S. Census classifies as one-person households. In some cases, too, the samples used provide less than a proportionate representation of low-income families, families

without telephones, and families living in very small towns and on farms. Add to this the fact that audience composition information is based on only those households in which sets are tuned to a specific program on a given date — probably not more than 150 to 200 family groups, if the program has a rating of 15.0 — and the possibility of statistical error suggests that the specific figures reported are subject to considerable modification. But it makes little real difference whether there are 65 children or only 58 children listening in each 100 homes tuned to the program, or whether 32 per cent or 35 per cent of the listening homes are those in which the head of the family has attended college. What is important is that the first program attracts large numbers of children, and that in the second instance the program is heard more extensively than the average program in homes in which the adults in the family are above the average in education—and the figures given, in each case, reveal those facts.

The information provided by the various research companies should be of very real value to sponsors of network programs who have need to reach listeners of some special type — and this is the situation with respect to nearly all network television programs. It should be of decided value, too, to those engaged in the planning of new programs; from past experience with programs of similar type, it should be possible more intelligently to determine the elements within a program which are attractive to various types of listeners. And of course, qualitative information about the audiences of network programs should be of particular interest to those who regard television as an important agency of communication—and who have need to know the characteristics of these with whom they are attempting to communicate.

Standards for Broadcast Journalism Education

A Statement of the Council on Radio and Television Journalism of the Association for Education in Journalism

The following statement, of importance to all members of the APBE, was adopted by the Association for Education in Journalism's Council on Radio-Television Journalism in 1956. If any reader should have comments, criticisms or proposals for amendments, he should write to Professor O. J. Bue at Montana State University.

Other members of the Council are Marlowe Froke (Pennsylvania State University), Chairman, Donald E. Brown (University of Illinois), Gordon B. Greb (San Jose State College), Robert Lindsay (University of Minnesota), Harold Niven (University of Washington) and Bill Monroe (President of the Radio-Television News Directors Association).

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THIS statement of minimum standards for education for radio and television journalism is intended as a guide to colleges and universities offering curricula to prepare young men and women for employment in radio and television newsrooms and in other forms of broadcast journalism. It is not the purpose of the Council on Radio and Television Journalism, to lay down detailed requirements for individual courses, nor for departmental jurisdiction. The Council contends, however, that any program of education for radio and television journalism should be designed to conform effectively to the general principles and specific goals here presented.

I. The basis of all education for radio and television journalism is sound general education that will provide a foundation for an understanding of the modern world in which broadcasting is a vitally important means of communication.

Preparation for radio and television journalism should be offered as part of curricula of not less than four academic years, leading at least to a bachelor's degree.

At the completion of such a curriculum, the student should have gained a comprehensive background in the social studies

—government and political science, economics, history, geography and sociology; a grounding in natural science and psychology; a reading (and, when possible, a speaking) knowledge of at least one modern foreign language; and a broad knowledge of English and American literature and composition. It is urged that this background of general education constitute the major portion of his academic work.

II. Students should be provided opportunity to acquire an understanding of the importance of broadcasting as a social instrument and of its relationship to government, industry and the public.

The student should be thoroughly grounded in the broad field of mass communications, especially radio, television and the press. Such grounding should include the history of communications; government regulations and the relationship of broadcast communication to government in the United States and in the major foreign countries; the social and legal responsibilities of radio and television, their influence in the formation of public opinion, their position as implements of business and as advertising media; standards of practice in broadcasting; and the attitudes of the public toward broadcasting, together with an introduction to the techniques of audience measurement and other pertinent survey methods.

III. Students should be provided training of professional quality in the skills and techniques of radio and television journalism, together with an adequate understanding of other aspects of broadcasting.

Essential among these skills and techniques are:

The handling of news (the nature of news; news sources; news gathering and news writing; news editing); the structure and operation of the news services; the operation and use of newspaper and radio wires.

Handling news for radio and television; radio and television news style; news broadcast patterns; gathering and writing local news for broadcast; special events and on-the-spot coverage; the commentary; the interview; news dramatization.

Microphone technique—fundamentals of the actual broadcasting of news by radio; uses of the tape recorder.

Camera techniques—the use of still and motion picture cameras; film and picture editing; production problems.

The student should also have the opportunity to obtain basic knowledge and training in other aspects of broadcasting. These include:

Radio and television programming, production and allied subjects.

Radio and television advertising—economics, script forms, merchandising, marketing, servicing, sales.

Station operation, management, public relations, and promotion.

Elementary electronics: control room and studio operations.

IV. Teachers of radio and television journalism should be soundly equipped, by practical experience, by education and by broad understanding of broadcasting's special values and implications.

Members of faculties engaged to teach courses in radio and television journalism must have had adequate professional experience to enable them to present courses at the professional level. They should be fully qualified by college or university training and professional experience to deal competently and understandingly with their subjects. Those responsible for instruction in graduate courses should have had sufficient advanced academic training or professional experience to equip them to teach such courses on the level of competency existing in other disciplines.

V. A college or university, to offer acceptable preparation for radio or television journalism, should possess or have access to adequate laboratory equipment and library and other facilities. Courses in these fields can be effectively offered only where laboratory facilities provide opportunity for realistic practice and experiment.

For radio, such facilities should include standard studios, libraries of recorded materials, recording and sound equipment, etc. For television, they should include completely-equipped studios (either closed-circuit or actual broadcasting), camera and film equipment, picture and editing facilities, etc. Arrangements for students in either field to broadcast their work (or realistically to simulate such broadcasting) and to hear or see it broadcast, are recommended. A regular wire news service and adequate newsroom facilities are considered minimum equipment. Arrangements with radio and television stations for student "internships" are strongly recommended.

There should also be available library facilities with broadcasting materials comparable to those available for other disciplines. These should include an extensive collection of the books on radio and television journalism, the press and mass communications; collections of radio and television scripts and record, tape and film recordings; files of the principal trade and technical publications dealing with broadcasting; files of governmental and broadcasting industry reports, brochures and like materials; and readily-available reference and background material necessary to provide realistic experience in radio and television news work.

The listing of all masters' and doctoral theses and dissertations in the field of broadcasting is to be found only in the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING. The last such list, compiled by Franklin Knower, appeared in Volume IV, Number 1.

Dr. Knower is currently engaged in updating this list. To insure a high standard of accuracy and completeness, your help is needed. Each academic reader of the JOURNAL is urged to send Professor Knower (Department of Speech, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio) the full citation for any theses or dissertations that may have been overlooked in previous compilations, or have been completed since 1958, regardless of department or school issuing the degree.

Television and Radio Program Ratings and Measurements:

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography

BY CHARLES R. WRIGHT

Following testimony dealing with the role played by television audience ratings in determining whether a given program will or will not be kept on the air, Chairman Oren Harris of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce requested the American Statistical Association to examine, describe, and evaluate the statistical reliability and validity of the various commercial rating services. The ASA's Technical Committee on Broadcast Ratings, under the Chairmanship of William G. Madow, produced its report early in 1961. It was published by the House Commerce Committee in March, under the title, Evaluation of Statistical Methods Used in Obtaining Broadcast Ratings *(House Report 193, 87th Congress, 1st Session).*

Although the entire report is highly technical, it is recommended to all those seriously interested in the rating services and their standards. For those without the statistical background to understand certain portions of the report, attention is called to more easily read articles, such as Harrison B. Summers' "Qualitative Information Concerning Audiences of Network Television Programs" (which appeared on pp. 147-160 of this issue of the JOURNAL) *as well as general articles cited in the bibliography that follows.*

For the average broadcaster, advertiser, teacher and student, the bibliography by Professor Charles R. Wright published as Appendix B of the Madow report is of inestimable value. Professor Wright has specially edited this bibliography for inclusion in the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, *in order to be of permanent reference value to the* JOURNAL'S *readers. Dr. Wright is Associate Professor of Sociology in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

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THE following bibliography is a shortened version of Appendix B of *Evaluation of Statistical Methods Used in Obtaining Broadcast Ratings:* A Report of the American Statistical Association Technical Committee on Broadcast Ratings to Provide Information Requested by the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, by William G. Madow, Herbert H. Hyman, and Raymond

J. Jessen, with the assistance of Paul B. Sheatsley and Charles R. Wright. The report is published as House Report No. 193, 87th Congress, 1st Session (March 23, 1961). It is available in limited quantities from Rep. Oren Harris, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce or the American Statistical Association. The author wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Madow and his Committee for permission to reproduce the materials and to Dudley C. Gordon II for his research assistance on the bibliography.

Sources

This selective bibliography (arranged by date within each category) was compiled after a search of the trade and professional literature located in the following manner.

(1) Standard indexes. All articles that appeared under relevant categories in the following indexes:

Public Affairs Index, for the period 1942 through October 1960.
Psychological Abstracts, 1945 through April 1960.
International Index to Periodicals, April 1946 to December 1960.
Industrial Arts Index (became *Business Periodicals Index*), 1953 through October 1960.

(2) Direct check of contents of selected journals or issues of trade journals that were not indexed above.

First attention was given to materials appearing after 1953, subsequent to the Advertising Research Foundation's 1954 bibliography (and separate report titled *Recommended Standards for Radio and Television Program Audience Size Measurements*, 1954.) No systematic check was made of popular magazines, but references are given for selected articles that were discovered during the search of other journals.

The search covers the following publications, among others:

(1) *Advertising Age* (formerly *Advertising Agency*, also formerly *Advertising and Selling*), 1952 through October 1960.
(2) *Broadcasting* (also *Broadcasting-Telecasting*) 1942-43, 1945, 1947, 1950-52, 1956 through November 14, 1960.
(3) *Business Week*, 1942 through October 1960.
(4) *Editor and Publisher*, 1942-47, 1951, 1953 through November 12, 1960.
(5) *Journal of Broadcasting*, 1958-59, and 1960 through summer issue.
(6) *Journalism Quarterly*, 1952-summer, 1960.
(7) *Printers' Ink*, 1942 through October 1960.
(8) *Sponsor*, 1953 through October 24, 1960.
(9) *Television Magazine*, 1955, 1958 through June 1960.
(10) *Tide*, 1958 (became part of *Printers' Ink*, March 1959).
(11) All major sociological journals are covered by the *International Index*, April 1946 through September 1960.
(12) All major psychological journals are covered by *Psychological Abstracts*, 1945 through April 1960.

Discussions of Ratings and Their Use (Criticisms, Defense, Symposia)

Usually Not Presenting Findings from Research

Runyon, Kenneth E., "Do your research results beg for an argument?" *Broadcasting*, 59 (Nov. 7, 1960), p. 18.

Article about media research. Stresses the importance of proper formulation of the research problem or question; attributes many troubles to failure to recognize that a technique may be good for answering one research question but poorly adapted to another. E. g., (oversimplified) coincidental for program popularity; roster for SES of audience; diary for audience flow and composition; electronic device to study audience duplication. No single study gives the whole answer to advertising and media research questions. Cites ARF's 8 criteria by which research should be evaluated.

Mayer, Martin. "How accurate are ratings?" *Sponsor*, 14 (Oct. 24, 1960), p. 36-38+.

A reprint of part of a longer article from *Esquire* (November 1960) in which the author discussed political polling and survey methods. The emphasis in the part reprinted here is on sampling and probability; argues that the theory of sampling is valid, and points out some reasons for departure from pure probability sample. Quotes Warren Cordell, "The accuracy of the basic information you collect is usually a lot more important than the accuracy of your sample. That's the area of the next crusade—response error."

Allen, George W. "Look beyond the ratings," *Broadcasting*, 59 (Oct. 24, 1960), p. 24.

Calls for a look beyond the ratings—to the program's effectiveness and broadcasting's effectiveness as a sales medium; to the basics of television programming and to program's obligations to good taste.

"Ratings: have ad men lost control?" *Sponsor*, 14 (Oct. 3, 1960), p. 34+.

Six executives from agencies and advertisers outline trends, hopes for rating services in discussion at second NBC Spot Sales media managers conference. Highpoints from 94 page transcript of the meeting. Emphasizes seeing ratings as related directly to one factor—circulation. (See next article.)

"Top 10 fever in TV subsiding," *Broadcasting*, 59 (Oct. 3, 1960), p. 32+.

Highlights from the NBC conference noted above. Quotes from participants. Summary: (1) The "top 10" fever is dying in TV, as the choice between most buys becomes a toss up. (2) Radio is being shortchanged by the rating services and the radio rating services are going through dark days. There ought to be a single all-industry-supported system of ratings, especially for radio, but the difficulties of getting one are formidable.

"Brewing: the battle of the rating," *Sponsor*, 14 (Feb. 20, 1960), p. 41+.

"Competition stiffens as Nielsen expands service, ARB goes ahead with plans for instantaneous national ratings. Here's scorecard of services now in use, based on Sponsor's survey of 20 top agencies in air media." Gives detailed breakdown of rating services subscribed to by twenty air media agencies.

"Rigging equations laid to television," *Editor and Publisher*, 93 (Jan. 16, 1960), p. 32.

J. Harnett (*Look*) charges that audience ratings, when used to compare telecasts with printed media, are "rigged" in the sense that it is assumed that someone in the household who tuned in on the show also saw the commercial.

"What do you think of the sampling techniques of rating services?" *Sponsor*, 14, (Jan. 16, 1960), p. 52+.

Opinions of A. Gibson (H-R Television, Inc.). P. Keller Reoch, McClinton & Co., Inc.), and M. Goldberg (Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.)

"Ratings defended; AMA session hears Life barbs rebuked," *Broadcasting*, 58 (Jan. 11, 1960), p. 64+.

Reports D. B. Lucas' "open letter" to H. Luce concerning *Life*'s feature on national TV ratings, as read at session of meeting of New York Chapter of AMA. Lucas turns same criticisms back on *Life*'s readership surveys.

"Is numbers research on the run?" *Sponsor*, 14 (Jan. 9, 1960), p. 29+.

In 1960 there will be a marked move away from ratings toward depth and qualitative research at all levels. Will not replace quantitative data but new trend to deeper surveys will complement the boxcar statistics. Reports results of questions *Sponsor* put to researchers, station reps and network executives, agencies and advertisers—on the specifics of ratings, their use, how to ascertain them, how to apply them, etc.

F. Stanton is quoted "ratings, properly taken, serve a useful purpose. But, at best, they reveal the choice viewers have made among the programs available." He is surprised that there is no "technique for a continuing appraisal of audience appreciation—an index to provide an interpretive dimension to sheer nose counting. We need to develop a qualitative quotient or an appreciation index and couple it with audience circulation figures in the continuous evaluation of our schedule."

A description is given of TV-Q (H. Brenner) which measures the appeal of a TV show in terms of individuals and their opinions of programs.

p. 31: "The stress on program ratings is greater in the selection of spot than in the sponsorship of programing." Notes trend toward limited-appeal-programing with less than massive ratings (e.g. Population Explosion Series). Describes Dyna-foto-chron (C. Allen) and selected findings from this camera on the TV receiver. Distinguishes between research aims and support; independent research, for subscribers on a continuing basis; independent research on special orders for companies with a special interest; agency and client research. Argues that much of the special research is financed by the media, since agencies and client do not ordinarily assume these costs. Cites some examples. Describes Television Advertising Representatives' Audience Dimensions research; comments on CBS TV Stations Division's report "More than meets the eye," done by Institute for Motivational Research, Inc. Claims that most professionals in the broadcast buying realm think it's a rare buyer who has purchased time on the basis of ratings alone.

"FCC inquiry hears Roper data; testimony from others ranges full list of cure-all theories," *Broadcasting*, 57 (Dec. 21, 1959), p. 36+.

Summary of testimony before FCC by 18 persons, at least two of whom mentioned ratings. They were W. Hocking (Harvard) and E. Frankel (independent producer).

"Fireworks ahead on TV rating systems," *Life*, (Dec. 14, 1959), pp. 32-36.

An article for popular consumption.

"His TV rating service is under fire from Congress and rivals," *Business Week*, (Dec. 12, 1959), p. 46+.

Story about A. C. Nielsen's rating service and other market research activities; describes current events, the "need" for ratings. Alludes to a study by Nielsen in which he compared listening habits of his audimeter group with those of a control sample studied by diaries and other methods. Concludes that only 2 percent of people tune in without listening. Comments on differences in rating figures—attributes them to different audiences measured and methods of analyzing the results. Discusses sampling question and how sound ratings are.

"Hurleigh blasts ratings; predicts Senate hearings will show riggings, misinterpretations undermine their value," *Broadcasting*, 57 (Nov. 23, 1959), pp. 78-79.

Report on remarks made by R. Hurleigh of MBS before the November 16 luncheon of the Sales Executive Club of Washington. Hurleigh attacks the sample and the advertisers' reliance on "circulation" figures. Reports Senator Monroney as saying (note: see next article for different statement by the Senator) "I cannot see how some 800 wired sets throughout the United States could possibly predict the listening and viewing tastes of the people of America. Yet these ratings are so important to the advertising agencies, the networks, and even the sponsors that they have led to various unethical practices and rigging that * * * have caused the public to lose confidence in the medium." Hurleigh goes on to say that he has information that Chairman Magnuson's Commerce Committee has amassed a great amount of evidence showing rigged ratings and deliberate broadcast circulation misrepresentations on national, regional and local levels. Hurleigh criticizes failure of meters systems to show the fast rise in multiple TV set ownership—one meter, on one set in the living room, determines the viewing habits of homes that can and do have two sets.

"Monroney: no evidence ratings are rigged," *Broadcasting*, 57 (Nov. 23, 1959), p. 79.

Says he has no evidence that ratings are rigged, but has evidence of "hypoing" of local station ratings by increased advertising of programs in periods when a survey is to be made. "The complaint about the audience surveys has been that they are inadquate, not necessarily inaccurate. We have been trying to find out if over-reliance on ratings by sponsors, advertising agencies and networks have adversely affected the quality of television programs."

Nielsen, A. C., "Hits back; criticism of ratings unfair," *Broadcasting* 57 (Nov. 23, 1959), p. 70+.

Speech at the TVBA annual convention. Scores uninformed critics, newspaper columnists, misguided persons, misuse of ratings. Likens audience researcher to box office accountant—not responsible for programming decisions.

"With what would you replace the rating system?" *Sponsor*, 13 (Sept. 26, 1959), pp. 56-57.

Agency, research and broadcast men discuss ratings' limitations, tell what they think would be a better approach to audience measurement.

"Are ratings helping or hurting radio?" *Sponsor*, 13 (Aug. 15, 1959), p. 45+.

A symposium. "Agencies continue to rely heavily on ratings in their fall buying decisions. Here, agency, rating and station representative people evaluate use of ratings in radio."

"Why radio is hurting for facts," *Sponsor* 13 (June 13, 1959), p. 41+.

Results of interviews with executives from "top 20" agencies. They charge "Radio is being shortchanged by a serious lack of the kind of vital research information which agencies get much more readily from TV and print. And radio itself must take most of the responsibility for this sad state of media research affairs." Some recommendations are made and compaints expressed.

"TV ratings; the men behind them," *Newsweek* (May 18, 1959), pp. 66-68.

Reports opinions of Nielsen, Hynes, Sindlinger, Seiler, Roslow about ratings and the use made of them.

"How they rate; coast ATAS panel discussion," *Broadcasting*, 56 (April 20, 1959), p. 42+.

A panel discussion. William Shafer (ARB) stresses that rating systems were developed to fulfill a need for information. Ratings should serve as a guide, along with sales and other data, in the decision to renew or cancel a program. And the rating used is the continuing trend, not a single rating. Some panelists agree; others don't.

"Station rating use up to raters," *Broadcasting*, 56 (March 9, 1959), p. 57+.

Reports high points of NAB Radio Research Committee's report on minimum standards to be used in the preparation of radio survey reports. (See below.)

"NAB sets rules for radio ratings: urges; police 'em," *Advertising Age*, 30 (March 9, 1959), p. 1+.

The radio research committee of NAB publishes standards for radio audience surveys; adapted resolution urging survey and rating services to keep an eye on promotional materials which are based on their surveys. The standards specify that each radio survey report should be prefaced with a statement outlining the coverage and technique; (1) dimensions of the audience survey; (2) area surveyed; (3) method of survey; (4) size of sample; (5) survey dates.

"ABC may be asked to help measure TV," *Editor and Publisher*, 92 (Feb. 14, 1959, p. 16.

A suggestion that the Audit Bureau of Circulations be the "one official instrument" to measure TV audiences—made at meeting to consider the problem of ratings, held by the Radio and TV Committee of the Association of National Advertisers, in New York. G. Abrams proposes that the research method should be direct personal interviews in the home, in the manner developed by Wallach's TPI Ratings, Inc.

"Audit bureau of TV to be proposed," *Editor and Publishing*, 92 (Jan. 31, 1959), p. 20+.

G. Abrams proposes an ABT, based on personal interviews as conducted by TPI Ratings, Inc. Notes that TPI recently completed studies in LA, Chicago, Phila.

"Urges four-week rating basis for TV," *Advertising Age*, 30 (Jan. 19, 1959), p. 8.

R. A. Moore, "KTTV head criticizes single rating week as 'monumental error'."

"Wolfson asks abolition of known rating weeks," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Dec. 22, 1958), p. 2+.

N. Wolfson, president of WTVJ, says rating week program loading and promotions distort the ratings. G. Accas also notes that there are other factors that might distort the rating picture, such as weather, and technical interruptions.

"Be ready to defend broadcast coverage data, Miller advises," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Dec. 8, 1958), p. 2+.

H. Miller (Benton & Bowles) advises broadcasters to make a single estimate of their coverage, on basis of best research available, be able to defend it, and use it for all their clients. Deplores stations that misuse statistics—the advertising "puff."

R. Davis (CBS-TV) argues for less literal interpretation of set-counts, cost-per-thousand, and ratings; drop the decimals thus rounding off the ratings, is his suggestion.

"Watch those net TV local ratings," *Sponsor*, 12 (Nov. 22, 1958), p. 36+.

Demonstrates the wide variation in local ratings that go into producing a national average. Emphasizes the need for clients (ad men) to consider ratings on market-by-market basis as well as national. Lists four reasons why local ratings slump: competition, lead-ins (i.e. carry-over audience from preceding show may be low), air times, regional tastes. Suggests what to do about these factors. Article provides some data on local and regional variations in ratings of selected programs.

Cornell, J., "How to play the ratings game," *Television Magazine*, 15 (November 1958), pp. 52-53.

Gives his yardsticks and principles for using audience data to predict audience shares or ratings for future programs. Takes into consideration such variables as age of the family, county size, who selects program, competitive picture throughout evening.

"A. C. Nielsen; he found a way to count the Nation's eyes, ears and purchases," *Printers' Ink*, 264 (Sept. 12, 1958), 80-82.

A *Printers' Ink* "Portrait." Mostly about Nielsen, but touches on his methods and his opinions about the use and abuse of ratings. Says that a national sample of 1,200 is too small to give reliable data for local markets, but can provide an overall national average reliable within a plus or minus range of 5 percent. Argues that as long as TV is an advertising medium, "decisions about programs will necessary be made in terms of the sponsor's need to reach the maximum potential customers per dollar of cost. If ratings didn't exist, another method or sheer guesswork would be used. Size of audience per dollar spent would still be decisive. And there is no reason to believe that any alternative rating method would improve program quality."

Asbel, B. "TV ratings: what they really mean," *Harpers* (September 1958), pp. 66-71.

Description and discussion of rating systems and their use. Alludes to a study done "last summer" by Ford Motor Co. A private survey of five top shows. On average each was seen by 10 percent of the people; of these, 31 percent left the room during the commercial; of those who stayed, 23 percent couldn't remember any detail of commercial within 30 minutes of the end of show.

"How will agencies use NCS number three?" *Sponsor*, 12 (Aug. 23, 1958), pp. 44-45.

Discussion of the subject.

"Are rating services keeping pace with time-buying methods?" *Sponsor*, 12 (July 5, 1958), p. 60+.

Opinions of F. Stisser, L. Dunier, G. Blechta, I. Jacobson; representing Hooper, E. Mogul, Nielsen, and Pulse.

"Hill gets fill-in on ratings," *Broadcasting*, 54 (June 30, 1958), p. 74+.

"Report on testimony of executives of rating systems, before Senator

Monroney's subcommittee. Comments of the Senator and Counsel K. Cox.

"Rating services deny they cause sameness in TV," *Advertising Age*, June 30, 1958, p. 81.

"Testimony before Senator Monroney's committee, by Nielsen, Seiler, Hynes, Sindlinger, and Roslow.

"Taking the mystery out of ratings; J. W. Thompson issues primer," *Broadcasting*, 54 (March 10, 1958), p. 37+.

Two condensed chapters from J. W. T. report.

"We need reliable ratings; interview with D. Cady," *Sponsor*, 12 (Feb. 22, 1958), 38-40.

D. Cady (Nestle Co.) calls for a standard set of audience data acceptable to everybody, evaluation of 'decimal point' buying and selling, and an Audit Bureau or Broadcast Industry Bureau of Circulation. Emphasizes basic station circulation data; program ratings only secondarily.

"Pellegrin rips broadcast ratings but warns stations to give agencies more, better data," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Feb. 3, 1958), p. 4.

Says stations should provide agencies with more complete market data rather than just ratings.

"Buyers and sellers score Nielsen coverage report," *Printers' Ink*, 259 (April 5, 1957), p. 30.

Reactions to Nielsen Coverage Service No. 2 (1956) by a panel.

Weakley, T. "New attacks hit radio-TV ratings," *Printers' Ink*, 258 (Jan. 18, 1958), p. 25.

Reports the industry's reactions to attacks on ratings by *Time* and Walter Winchell. Notes that the ARF had published a book of standards in 1954, followed by the establishment of a volunteer 18 member ratings review committee, headed by E. Deckinger, which has been preparing a study to test standards.

H. Beville says NBC hasn't made much use of rating figures in its promotions for some time. Criticizes the daily emphasis placed on ratings by some TV columnists, "Our feeling is that this isn't the right place for this kind of information."

"Three-hour radio ratings," *Sponsor*, 10, (Dec. 15, 1956), p. 38.

Pro and con on the proposal (by W. Dorrell of J. Blair and Blair TV) that radio rating services measure listening in larger blocks of time (3 hours) rather than in 15-minute segments. May provide stable figures, bigger samples, quicker reports.

"TV's figures won't quite add; how the rating services measure the TV audience," *Business Week* (Sept. 29, 1956), p. 45+.

Describes rating services, methods, and different rating figures obtained for 10 programs in August. Comments on weight given to ratings by broadcaster, sponsors, and ad agencies. Discusses why ratings are not comparable—in terms of base for percentage, sample, time of rating period. Describes services other than program ratings.

Schuyler, Phillip N. "Media buyers push research to provide comparable data; committee on standards for audience measurement at work," *Editor and Publisher*, 89 (June 30, 1956), p. 10+.

A four-part article. Part I discusses possibility of getting comparable audience measurements between media. Notes work of L. Brown's All-Media Measurement Committee of the ARF, and G. M. Ule's subcommittee, the Media Concepts Subcommittee. Part II deals with measurement of newspaper audiences. Part II argues that there are several reasons why

broadcasting ratings can't be put against what the print media show. Part IV is titled "TV-radio services don't live up to standards fashioned by them" in 1954 by the ARF's report. Describes rating services and their techniques and criticisms. Notes that ARB recently released results of a 1-year study on the diary technique versus telephone coincidental in eight major cities; claims differences were very small.

Deckinger, E. L., "Today's radio ratings are obsolete," *Sponsor*, 10 (June 25, 1956), p. 36+.

"Researcher feels big need is for cumulative measure." Suggests new procedure for measuring radio and for sale of radio time. Involves a "run-of-station" basis, several types of cumulative audience data, use of variety of techniques.

"What's with the TV set count these days?" *Sponsor*, 10 (Feb. 20, 1956), p. 40+.

Discusses research problems in counting sets and station coverage. Gives progress report on various TV set count studies: ARF, Nielsen, Census, NARTB. Mentions a study (by Politz Research) for Audit Television Circulation Committee's research subcommittee, headed by H. Beville. Study showed the "acceptability" of interviewing methods, providing they are refined. Conclusion was based on a comparison of interview data with information obtained from mechanical recorders connected to sets in the same sample of homes interviewed.

Sinclair, C., "NSI: Can it measure today's radio audience?" *Sponsor*, 9 (April 18, 1955), p. 40+.

Criticism that NSI methods shortchange radio. Reply to critics by A. C. Nielsen. Reproduction of an audilog.

Deckinger, E. L. "Advertising Research Foundation takes big step toward rating standards," *Advertising Age*, 48 (February 1955), p. 50+.

Report on ARF's 1954 *Recommended Standards* . . . report and other work of the committee.

Nielsen, A. C. "Reply to 'Who know's who's on top'," *Colliers* (Jan. 7, 1955), p. 6

A letter to the editor, in reaction to article (see Davidson below).

Sinclair, C. "The ratings muddle, what it is and what to do about it," *Sponsor*, 8 (Nov. 29, 1954), p. 31+.

Sponsor goes to dozens of research specialists and other advertising executives, summarizes their opinions about ratings in the form of answers to the following questions. (1) What's the solution? Research specialists think the "muddle" may be solved in part through higher research standards, plus higher levels of industry knowledge about ratings. (2) Who's to do the educating of the industry? (3) Is audience research completely unreliable and worthless? (4) What keeps the rating muddle going? (5) How does muddle affect different levels of the radio-TV industry? (6) Common industry criticisms of ratings? (7) Is it getting tougher to measure audiences? (8) Are radio and TV the only advertising media plagued by audience measurement problems? (9) What are some of the common misuses of ratings data? Examples:

(1) Overuse of ratings as an inflexible buying or evaluation yardstick. (2) Failure to realize the mathematical shortcomings of rating services when making judgments based on ratings. (3) Use of rating data by unskilled admen in ways for which the ratings were never intended to be used. E.g., projecting to Nation from first set of rating figures obtained;

homemade combinations of ratings or audience data. "Ad men will sometimes take a rating from one service, add an out-of-home listening factor from another, project this against the total homes figure (even if the rating is unprojectable), and then multiply the 'homes' calculation with audience composition figures derived from a third service." (4) Comparisons between the rating figures of different rating services. And (5) Reliance on ratings which primarily show audience size, while overlooking other by-products and qualitative factors of these ratings.

Davidson, B. "Who knows who's on top?" *Colliers* (Oct. 29, 1954), pp. 23-27.

Discussion, anecdotes about programs whose ratings differ from one rating service to another. Opinions from entertainers about ratings, sampling, etc.

Lapica, R. "II. Can you set up the 'ideal' media test?" *Sponsor*, 8 (March 8, 1954), p. 34+.

No. 18 in *Sponsor's* 22-article series on All-Media Evaluation. Quotes some of the 158 experts consulted on how it might be done. Focuses on criteria for an ideal intermedia test. Gives data on how many agencies and advertisers test media effectiveness by such methods as sales results, test markets, coupons, rating services, use of different media in different cities, surveys, keyed responses, public responses.

Dorrell, W. "How the different rating services vary in the same market," *Sponsor*, 8 (Jan. 25, 1954), p. 34+.

No. 16 of Sponsor's All-Media Evaluation series. Shows a few of the differences in local ratings by different services, to demonstrate that ratings shouldn't be overemphasized but used as intended—i.e., as guide and estimate of the total audience size and its distribution among the various stations. Stresses sales effectiveness as criterion that also needs consideration.

Lapica, R. "What's wrong with the rating services?" *Sponsor*, 7 (Dec. 28, 1953), p. 34+.

No. 14 in *Sponsor's* All-Media Evaluation Series. Shows what sponsors think about ratings. Compares six rating services against *Sponsor's* ideal criteria. Lists these 16 criteria: Sample size big enough to give quarter-hour ratings. Covers complete day, using same system. Has measurement of out-of-home audience, on same basis as in-home. Has data on audience composition. Has audience flow figures. Has cumulative audience figures. Has average audience figures. Has total audience figures. Measures all listening and viewing in home. Bases local and national ratings on same source. Measures radio and TV with same techniques and sample. Has truly representative sample. Covers complete market area. Reports reasonably frequent, up-to-date. Cost reasonable in terms of data delivered. Technique accurate.

Sponsor's year-long survey has revealed that rating services today suffer from (1) destructive criticism of each other, (2) stations, agencies all bringing pressure to bear to keep ratings high, (3) misuse of the rating services by sponsors and agencies. Examples of misuse: (*a*) buying or dropping a show on the basis of one or two rating; (*b*) taking the rankings of shows in any top 25 or 10 too seriously; (*c*) projecting ratings beyond the projectionable area to other cities; (*d*) overemphasizing the significance of average ratings in comparing the effectiveness of program types; (*e*) forgetting that share of audience may be as important as rating figures; (*f*) accepting, at face value, ratings offered purely for promotional purposes. Goes into the above points.

Summarizes what the rating services say about each other. Also summarizes—with many quotations—the results of *Sponsor's* survey of 2,000 advertisers and agencies, in which 31 advertisers and 46 agencies answered specifically on information sources. Criticism of rating reports as being incomplete, inaccurate, not comparable and not useful, too promotional, dated, high cost, sample not valid, not enough qualitative data.

Gives the rating services own defense of their methods: Roslow, Seiler, Hooper, Nielsen, Jay, Hynes.

Bruner, D. "New Yardstick urged for evaluation of radio and video,"*Printers' Ink* (Nov. 23, 1951), p. 42.

Reports talks by L. Roslow (The Pulse, Inc.), W. Seiler (ARB), and A. Sindlinger (National Radox Corp.) describing their rating systems.

Broadcasters are concerned about the emphasis placed on ratings by the advertisers and would like to see the rebirth of an organization similar to Broadcast Measurement Bureau.

Harris, M. "How to interpret your ratings," *Televiser: the journal of television.* Vol. 8, No. 9 (Nov. 1951), p. 5+.

Director of public relations for Nielsen Co. describes how interpretation of ratings needs to take into account other factors such as income levels of homes, number of homes in area, time of day, ratings of other shows of similar types, ratings of competitors' shows, cost-per-thousand homes reached, audience composition, geographical sections and city sizes, and minute-by-minute audience.

Deckinger, E. L. "Let's end the confusion in radio and TV audience research: ratings laboratory is proposed to measure differences among services," *Advertising Agency* (September 1951), p. 64+.

Reviews highlights of the Special Test Survey Committee's report on radio and TV ratings, including: (1) Reasons for differences between ratings—sample differences and methods. (2) Review of methods used by different rating services. (3) Possibility of using old data from different services, from same area and time, to reveal relationships between methods. (4) Establish a "ratings laboratory" to experiment in a few cities, comparing various techniques. (5) Who should sponsor the lab? NARTB?

Wolfe, C. "Radio audience measurement," *Advertising and Selling* (July 1948), p. 37+.

Compares the advantages and disadvantages of four approaches: telephone coincidental, mechanical recorder, miscellaneous methods (listener recall, diary, electronic measurement), and combinations of above. Goes into detail on each.

Crossley, A. "Why we should bring radio research up-to-date: fetish of the coincidental and other ideas that need scrutiny," *Advertising and Selling* (November 1946), p. 41+.

Appraises the telephone technique. Criticizes telephone "coincidental" method. Goes on to discuss absolute versus relative ratings and other topics.

Usually Presenting Findings from Research

Abrams, G. "Inflation exposed in TV ratings," *Editor and Publisher*, 91 (Sept. 6, 1958), p. 16+.

Chairman of the Radio-TV Committee of the Association of National Advertisers describes problems of ratings; wants new monthly national rating service based on approximately 100,000 personal coincidental inter-

views, during a secret rating week. Reports on a test in Syracuse, N.Y., in March 1958 by M. Wallach Research, Inc., and says there will be another test (connected with TPI Ratings, Inc.).

"Rating week hypo cuts rational buying of time: in smaller markets, 1-week push can make station 'No. 1' for year," *Advertising Age*, 29 (July 7, 1958), p. 1+.

This is the first of three articles analyzing the problem of special promotion for rating week in radio and TV.

Describes contests and other devices used during rating week. Gives data on linage in the Daily Oklahoman, used by Oklahoma City TV stations before, during and after a rating week, May 1958.

"Rating week hypo fought by stations; not agencies," *Advertising Age*, 29 (July 14, 1958), p. 3+.

Second article. Data comparing Wichita stations' shares of sets-in-use during usual rating week (presumably "hypo'd") and a secret rating week. What is being done about the problem.

"Rating hypo 'cures' bring on new maladies," *Advertising Age*, 29 (July 21, 1958), p. 3+.

Third article. Discusses effect of Nielsen's competitive push into local rating field in which he stressed multiweek measurement, pointed out unusual ratings obtained by 1-week methods. This competition spurred rating services to experiment with devices or steps to stop rating week promotions, e.g., reporting such promotions in the rating book, dropping the "offending" stations from those rated. Describes the troubles such practices created in Omaha in November. Discusses secret week, use of months instead of weeks, use of qualitative data—as possible solutions to problem.

"New ruckus over ratings begins; what Abrams found in the Syracuse test; what the New York panel said," *Broadcasting*, 54 (March 31, 1958), pp. 31-36.

Reports Abrams' (and Wallach's) proposal for single, uniform audience measurement using personal in-home coincidental and telephone coincidental approach (TPI). Results of pretest in Syracuse. Reactions by a panel of network and agency executives. Also has a two-page interview with Abrams and Wallach detailing their method and Syracuse results. Article closes with a report on eight questions discussed by a panel of media men, touching on such problems in ratings as the feasibility of a standard rating service, the handling of auto-figures, preferences for a secret rating week or standard week or 4 weeks, and the like.

"TV rating test hits high audience claims," *Editor and Publisher*, 91 (April 12, 1958), p. 28+.

An early account of preliminary results of the Syracuse study. Among other information presented, the article says that the questionnaire used covered age, sex of viewers of specific programs, income of family, multiple set viewing, members of family who are not viewing, channel identification, sponsor identification.

"Ratings, how they're used, and why," *Broadcasting*, 54 (March 24, 1958), pp. 31-36.

Results of survey responses from 326 members of new nationwide NBC Spot Sales Time Buyer Opinion Panel (panel of advertising agency buyers). "The substantial majority hold that ratings are at best a guide to be equated with such other factors as audience composition, surrounding material, frequency of exposure, station integrity, station standing in com-

munity, experience, and overall know-how." Comparisons are made between responses of buyers from agencies with billings over and under $5 million. Lengthy quotations are given from questionnaires of 45 time buyers.

"Audience research deflates TV glamor, Detroit Free Press report on television audience measurements," *Editor and Publisher*, 90 (Aug. 10, 1957), p. 30.

Announcement about a new report, "Talking about television," by the *Detroit Free Press*. TV audience measurements based on 13 special research projects in various parts of the country. Claims that the sets-in-use figure of the TV rating is comparable to the ABC audited circulation of newspapers, i.e., it indicates the possibility of exposure.

Mentions several studies, without much data cited. (1) A study by Northwestern University. (2) A report by the Toledo Water Commission showing increases in the evening use of water on the half-hour during peak viewing hours, indicating viewers leave the sets and miss commercials. (3) Hooper study (February-March, 1956) 28,866 telephone interviews show that in about 46 percent of the homes with sets in use the housewife was not even in the same room as set; in 15 percent she was in room but doing something else; in about 26 percent she was giving program her attention. (4) A Western Union survey for Miami Herald, on TV viewing. (5) Cunningham and Walsh's Videotown; some data are cited.

"KJBS Test Survey: expanded study favored," *Broadcasting-Telecasting*, (Sept. 4, 1950), p. 28.

The special test survey committee formed to find out why Hooper and Pulse ratings differed in San Francisco proposed that an expanded study of all kinds of local audience size measurements be undertaken.

Chappell, M. "Expected variations in radio program audience ratings," *Printers' Ink*, (Oct. 2, 1942), p. 58+.

Lists six reasons, other than change in popularity of radio program, that can change its coincidental rating from month to month: (1) influence of contemporary events; (2) weather conditions at time of broadcast; (3) changes in programing before and after your program; (4) seasonal differences in listener interest; (5) influence of variations in number of programs of the same type; (6) chance variations inherent in every figure produced by a sampling operation. Provides graph of maximum expected statistical variation in ratings by size of sample and size of rating.

Hooper, C. "How adequate are 'telephone homes' as cross section of radio audience?" *Printers' Ink*, (July 24, 1942), p. 43+.

C. Hooper's opinions. Data from studies that he had conducted to see how adequate is the telephone home sample to show a genuine "cross-section" of a community's listeners. A cross-section of the community was interviewed (personal) and asked four questions about radio listening. Then answers from people in homes with telephones were compared with answers from all homes. Not much difference in results.

Articles on Methodology (But Not Services)

Porter, Richard, "A quantification of the program preferences of a television audience," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Winter 1959-60), pp. 56-63.

Quantifies program preferences through use of paired comparisons. Then determines the correlation between ARB's program ratings and these paired

comparison ratings. Author evaluates the paired-comparison technique. Suggests it might be a useful way for a broadcaster to study, in advance of a change in program scheduling, the potential competitive effectiveness of his program versus others with which he might be competing.

Csida, J. "Nielsen X Trendex = sponsor rating," *Sponsor*, 13 (May 2, 1959), p. 12+.

Reports that Norman, Craig & Kummel have arrived at a sponsor rating by taking Nielsen total audience figures and multiplying them by Trendex sponsor identification figures. They ranked 103 night-time network shows for the first half of 1958.

Belson, W. A. "New developments in audience research methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (September 1958), pp. 174-179.

Reports on two new methods in use by the BBC: Planning Studies, to secure in advance data on the target audience for programs; and a method for measuring the effects of broadcasts. Also mentions other BBC activities in audience research, in passing.

Bogardus, E. S. "Television scale and television index," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (April 1952), pp. 220-223.

The scale "is a device to secure comparable quantitative results in one * * * field of human communication." One aim of the study is to find out how people would react to various types of TV programs if they had the time and opportunity to view them—rather than what they actually view. The degree of interest in or attitudes toward various kinds of programs is measured on a scale of six degrees of expression, ranging from viewing no programs of that type through viewing all. Twenty types of programs were considered. "By ascertaining the arithmetic means of a person's reactions to all 20 of the given types" of programs, his Personal Television Index is obtained, and may be compared with the index scores of other persons; or groups of persons may be compared; or comparisons made over time. The arithmetic means of the reactions of the people to a single television program provides a Program Television Index for it, which may be compared with the index score for other programs. Presents results of a study using these methods for 1,500 persons.

Silvey, R. "Methods of viewer research employed by the British Broadcasting Corporation," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15 (1951), 89-104.

Describes some BBC research methods, and especially the viewer panel with which BBC was experimenting. Some data on such methodological issues as the representativeness of volunteer respondents, rate of return of log-sheets, and the like.

Beville, H. and K. Greene, "A new look at radio audience measurement: introducing a statistical method for estimating share of audience data for each county," *Printers' Ink* (May 14, 1948), p. 38+.

Correlates "most listening" data from three NBC nationwide mail surveys with Hooper "share of audience" data, to obtain a new method for computing county-by-county share of audience estimates. Verifies accuracy of estimates by personal interview and Nielsen Audimeter data.

Zeisel, H. "Coordinating the measurements of radio listening," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 42 (December 1947), pp. 512-522.

Considers alternative meanings and measures of station coverage. Then relates BMB data on coverage (proportion of radio homes in an area who

listen to a station) to data measuring the amount of time spent listening. Plots the curve and transformations between the two sets of data.

Greene, K. and W. S. Robinson, "Relation between the percentage of most listeners to a radio station and percentage of the total listening time obtained by it," *Journal of Psychology*, 23 (Ap. 1947), pp. 255-281.

"The starting point of this paper was an empirical observation connecting two indices used in radio research. In some studies people are asking to which station they listen most. From other studies we have data telling what proportion of their listening time people give to various radio stations. It is, therefore, possible to relate for each station two pieces of information: proportion of people who listen to this station most as compared to other stations; and share of listening time the station actually draws. The empirical data (collected and developed by Greene) show a consistent linear relationship between those two indices.

"The paper then turns to a mathematical theory (developed by Robinson). It is shown that the difference in the share of audience time which two stations draw depends upon three factors: the total amount of listening done by the respondents; whether listening to the two stations is correlated; and the number of people who listen to one station more than to the other. It is then shown that the first two factors play a very small role as compared to the third one. As a result the difference in share of time depends essentially upon how many people listen to the one station more than to the other. Furthermore, within reasonable limits this relationship is linear.

"The empirical relationship between the indices is thus the result of certain mathematical properties which are inherent in the distribution curves of actual listening behavior" (p. 281).

Peatman, J. G. "Radio research," in Harriman, P. L. *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, pp. 747-765. Following abstract taken from *Psych. Abstracts* (1947), p. 283.

"Sampling methods, sales effectiveness of radio advertising, and comparisons with other forms of advertising are typical fields for study * * *. Devices used have been: interviews, mail responses, audimeter records and polygraph records of attitudes. The extent of the market, the potential listening audience, the probable number, its composition and attitudes for and while listening are discussed in detail."

Robinson, W. S. "Radio Measurement: and its Limitations," *Journal of Social Issues*, 3 (1947), pp. 42-50.

Discussion of methods for measuring coverage and attention value (or recruiting ability) of radio programs. Covers merits and limitations of Hooper's telephone coincidental and Nielsen's mechanical recorder as methods for measuring coverage. Notes mathematical relationship between shares-of-audience and share-of-time percentages when obtained by telephone coincidental method. Special limitations of trying to measure attention value, e.g., difficulty in interpreting change in Hooper ratings as evidence of the effectiveness of some change in the program to increase its attention value. Stresses the need for more information on the ways an audience is recruited, e.g., the role of word of mouth recommendations. A fundamental weakness of current radio audience research: its failure to study the listener except in terms of his numbers. Need for a combination of statistical and motivational research to give meaningful social psychological knowledge.

Descriptions of Rating Services and Research Companies

Descriptions of Major Companies; Announcements of New Services

(For a detailed description of the major rating services the reader is referred to the text of the main *Report* and to the appropriate section of its Appendix B for additional citations. To conserve space here only the following general references are cited.)

"Highlights on six rating services," *Sponsor*, 12 (Nov. 8, 1958), p. 47+.

Summarizes new services offered. Stresses instantaneous national ratings; use of 4 week rating averages which will eliminate "hypoing" during rating week; qualitative data.

"Behind the ratings systems: Part I-VI," *Sponsor*, 12 (Sept. 20 through Nov. 1, 1958).

I. "The Pulse: in-home interviews," Sept. 20, 1958, p. 30+.
II. "ARB expands its measurements," Sept. 27, 1958, p. 36+.
III. "Trendex moving into 50 new markets," Oct. 4, 1958, p. 36+.
IV. "Videodex reports 141 cities, adds score of new markets in last quarter," Oct. 11, 1958, p. 40+.
V. "Hooper riding the big radio boom," Oct. 18, 1958, p. 42+.
VI. "Big Nielsen news: instant TV ratings," Nov. 1, 1958, p. 37+.

Descriptions of New Rating Companies or Techniques

"Teleprompter tests key TV as viewer response system," *Advertising Age*, 31 (June 27, 1960), p. 40.

A method by which viewer inserts a key and presses a button if he wishes to receive a program, a preview of which he hears. Also can press buttons to signify his like/dislike at stated intervals during show. Reactions recorded in a box outside the house. Method to be tested, summer 1960, in Liberal, Kans., and Farmington, N. Mex.

Allen, C. "Dyna-foto-chron developed for TV watcher-watching," *Advertising Age*, 31 (Jan. 11, 1960), p. 92.

Report on new device that takes pictures of viewers at home. Some observations on results from about two dozen homes. Allen's hopes for a study of 100 families over a 1 or 2 month period. May include a tape recorder to get viewers' comments. Plans for use of device in other kinds of market research.

"Wallach's TPI service expands to print, radio," *Advertising Age*, 30 (July 13, 1959), p. 48.

"Now covers nine markets, Revson is backer of 'qualitative' research." M. Revson invests "a sizable sum of money in TPI, Inc.," which will expand present facilities and move into radio and print.

"Abrams urges audit bureau for television," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Dec. 15, 1958), p. 77.

Plan for rating service bureau using personal interviews.

"Q-ratings promise to help advertisers predict success or failure of TV shows," *Printers' Ink* (Nov. 21, 1958), p. 44+.

Used to determine whether people like the show or not; may forecast trends. Based on national sample of 12,000 families, part of a market research panel; 1,000 a month receive questionnaire that lists some 200 programs. F (familiarity) rating equals percent who are familiar with pro-

gram; Q (quality) rating equals proportion who like it, among those familiar.

"TV-Q ratings aim to ascertain show's qualitative standings," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Aug. 11, 1958), p. 28.

Story about H. Brenner's new rating service, TV-Q.

"New firm rates quality," *Broadcasting* (Aug. 11, 1958), p. 34.

TV-Q Ratings, by Entertainment Research Association (affiliate of Home Testing Institute). Measures program's intrinsic appeal to individuals, makes possible prediction of program performance, measurement of its basic strengths and weaknesses, and detailed definition of the kinds of people to whom it appeals most."

"How coverage is defined; terms used by *Television Magazine's* research department in analyzing markets," *Television Magazine*, 15 (August 1958), pp. 44-45.

Determines the coverage area of a TV market through study of viewing factors where they are available and current, or by engineering contours where they are not.

Abrams, G. and M. Wallach, "Answer to the rating muddle," *Sponsor*, 12 (Feb. 1, 1958), pp. 30-33.

Account of a proposed new method of rating combining personal coincidental interviews with telephone coincidentals. Eventual goal of a national probability sample covering 600 areas, 15,000 personal interviews per night plus 15,000 telephone calls. Method will be tried out locally, in Syracuse.

"Activation research is Gallup-Robinson's new interest, "*Printers' Ink*, 257 Dec. 21, 1956), p. 54.

Describes plans for "Mirror of America," a laboratory in Hopewell, N.J., for conducting "activation" research.

"RCA Whirlpool signs for in-home research; Telestudio's closed-circuit audience research system," *Printers' Ink*, 256 (July 13, 1956), p. 55.

Describes Telestudios, Inc. (New York); plans to use closed circuit panel for pretesting TV programs and commercials.

"Ford and K. & E. design pretester for TV ads," *Printers' Ink*, (July 13, 1956).

Describes "consumer research listening post" in Grand Central Terminal that has portable device for testing audience reaction to various parts of TV commercial; group response analyzer.

"Analyzer totals remote audience interest," *Electronics*, 27 (January 1954), p. 198+.

Describes a method invented by R. Shelby (patent RCA) for instantaneous indication of the extent of a radio or TV station's audience. Based on procedure requiring momentarily reducing the power of the transmitter, which will change the power consumption of most receivers tuned to the station. Sensitive power-measuring equipment in the power stations in the area should show a difference in the area's power consumption, from which some estimate of the number of sets tuned in can be made (through correlation with other audience measurement surveys to obtain a standard). Advantages: no device on receiver; test can be carried out independently of the receiver, even without the knowledge of the audience at any time.

Kingson, W. "Measuring the Broadcast audience," *Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television* (spring, 1953), pp. 291-303.

A brief history and description of rating and measurement services from Crossley through Broadcast Audience Measurement, Inc.

"Two new coverage tools and what they mean to sponsors," *Sponsor* (Sept. 22, 1952), p. 34.

Describes and compares Standard Audit and Measurement Service with Nielsen Coverage Service.

"Audience study—Baker to direct new service," *Broadcasting-Telecasting* (Sept. 10, 1951), p. 27.

Describes Standard Audit & Measurement Services, Inc.; plans.

Fleischer, M. "Televisergraph," *Televiser*, 7 (Sept. 1950), p. 11.

A graph of audience reaction, minute by minute, for show; analysis of causes for rise and fall in audience appeal during show. Similar "reviews" of shows appear in other issues of the journal. Vol. 7, Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9.

Allen, J. "What radio's broadcast measurement bureau will measure and why; initial survey starts this month to provide a uniform measurement of station audience and its distribution," *Printers' Ink* (Mar. 8, 1946), p. 66+.

Describes BMB's objectives, techniques.

Illustrative Research Findings and Miscellaneous Material

Results of Audience Surveys, Coverage Studies, Ratings

"How political shows rated against entertainment," *Broadcasting*, 59 (Nov. 14, 1960), pp. 35-36.

Gives program ratings for major political speeches, based on ARB's multi-city Arbitron reports on night-time network viewing in seven major cities from middle of October through election eve.

"Debate score: Kennedy up, Nixon down," *Broadcasting*, 59 (Nov. 7, 1960), pp. 27-29.

Results from five Sindlinger surveys on attitude shifts during debates. Also ARB data on size of audience.

"Nielsen's new pocketpiece reflects changing TV pattern," *Advertising Age*, 31 (Aug. 15, 1960), p. 24.

"New Trendex is broad-gauge viewing report," *Advertising Age*, 31 (May 23, 1960), p. 133.

The latest Trendex network TV report "represents another step in the campaign to soft pedal ratings in favor of qualitative data." Data on audience composition, viewer reaction, etc.

Westley, B. and J. Mobius, "A closer look at the nontelevision household," *Journal of Broadcasting* (spring, 1960), pp. 164-173.

A survey in Madison, Wis., 1957. Analysis of characteristics of people who do not have television—SES, education, family status, and other variables.

"Winter versus summer viewing; Nielsen says weather, not programing, causes summer TV slump," *Broadcasting*, 58 (Mar. 21, 1960), pp. 84-85.

Runciman, A. "Stratification study of television programs," *Sociology and Social Research*, 44 (March 1960), pp. 257-261.

Study of the differences in program selections that are made by TV viewers and are related to social backgrounds, interests, attitudes, and social class. Focus on program types. Based on three studies. (1) Nielsen data, national samples—program selection by age, sex, education, and size of family. (2) ARB special telephone coincidental survey in Los Angeles—occupation and education of head of household by TV ownership and viewing. (3) Sample of 25 male industrial leaders.

"Have scandals cut the audience? Nielsen finds inconsequential drop in television viewing; but Sindlinger sees adult decline," *Broadcasting*, 58 (Feb. 15, 1960), pp. 126-129.

"Facts and figures about radio today: current radio dimensions; homes and set indexes," *Sponsor*, 14 (Jan. 2, 1960), p. 50.

Niven, Harold, "Who in the family selects the TV program?" *Journalism Quarterly* (winter, 1960), pp. 110-111.

Study based on personal interviews with 1,548 housewives in Columbus, Ohio.

"Television Advertising Representatives' research audience dimensions," *Broadcasting*, 57 (Dec. 14, 1959), p. 58.

Research on age and other audience variables, by Pulse, for Westinghouse.

"New data on adult radio preferences," *Sponsor*, 13 (Nov. 28, 1959), pp. 40-41.

Study by H. Kopf and R. Bedwell, Jr., (Ohio State University). Questionnaires to a cross section sample of 1,350 homes in Columbus and suburbs, April 1959. Presents highlights of findings.

"Forty percent of homes blind to TV in prime time; New England survey," *Editor and Publisher*, 92 (Nov. 28, 1959), p. 10.

Study by TV Survey Committee of New England Newspaper Advertising Executives Association. 7,307 homes in 40 cities in New England; between 7-9 p.m., Oct. 15; report 40 percent not watching TV.

"How much audience duplication is there among radio outlets?" *Sponsor*, 13 (Nov. 21, 1959), p. 36+.

Data from Meeker Co.'s analysis of Nielsen data (March-April 1958) on four radio stations in a major market area to see how much duplication in audience. One "middle of the road" station, two rock 'n' roll, one good music (there were other stations in the area too). Greatest overlap by any two of the four stations was 6.3 percent of their combined audience, or 1.3 percent of the homes in the metropolitan area.

"How many, how much? CBS TV spot answers, cumulative data finder," *Sponsor*, 13 (Oct. 10, 1959), pp. 44-45.

Summarizes some data from CBS Spot Sales' report, "Cumulative Data Finder."

"An important new profile of the radio-active housewife," *Sponsor* (Oct. 10, 1959), pp. 39-31.

Results of mail questionnaires sent to 5,000 housewives, members of a market planning panel; nationwide; 80 percent response. Study by H-R Representatives and McCann Erickson.

"New storehouse of TV information; TvB's new viewing survey." *Sponsor*, 13 (Oct. 3, 1959), pp. 33-35.

Report by Television Bureau of Advertising, based on Nielsen and Pulse data; focus is on people, rather than homes; audience composition and viewing data.

"42-hour viewing week; Nielsen study," *Broadcasting*, 57 (July 27, 1959), p. 42.

"TV set-count up-dated; Nielsen TV home totals by counties as of spring, 1959," *Sponsor*, 13 (May 16, 1959), p. 44+.

"New light on video's summer dip," *Sponsor*, 13 (April 4, 1959), pp. 38-40.

"The who and what of TV program viewing: audience composition by program time, number of viewers, average per minute (000,000) for November-December 1958," *Broadcasting*, 56 (March 2, 1958), p. 78.

"U.S. TV audience, spring, 1959; State and regional summaries," *Advertising Age*, 30 (March 30, 1959), p. 96.

"Television audience; breakdown by territories, county sizes, and family characteristics," *Television Magazine*, 16 (March 1959), p. 87.

"Broadcast Audience in 1959," *Broadcasting*, 56 (Feb. 9, 1959), pp. 100-101.

"Who's looking? Cash gives counsel on use of research," *Broadcasting*, 56 Feb. 2, 1959), p. 30.

N. Cash announces TvBA's forthcoming report on audience composition, based on Nielsen and Pulse data.

"Trend of ratings, evening programs, 1956 to 1958; 1st February report for network TV," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Oct. 27, 1958), p. 84.

"Measuring TV, a massive medium," Broadcasting, 55 (Aug. 25, 1958), pp. 31-35.

Highlights from NCS No. 3; announces Arbitron's instantaneous system for New York; special Nielsen data on the UHF audience.

"TV coverage up 14 percent since 1956, Nielsen reports," *Advertising Age*, 29 (Aug. 25, 1958), p. 2+.

"New look at night-time radio shows audience quality and size," *Sponsor*, 12 (Aug. 23, 1958), p. 42.

"U.S. TV homes by counties as of August 1958, and number of families as of January 1958," *Television Magazine*, 15 (August 1958), p. 59+.

"Pulse reports on the out-of-home audience; five market analysis," *Television Magazine*, 15 (July 1958), pp. 73-75.

"Fallacy of the 5-minute listener: new Nielsen study," *Television Magazine*, 15 (May 1958), p. 65+.

Examines listener loyalty and audience turnover in six major markets; reviews the growth of the radio medium. Reveals that radio listening occurs in longer time periods than was thought to be the case. Data.

"Television audience; breakdown by regions and family characteristics," *Television Magazine*, 15 (March 1958), p. 79.

"A study in life cycles of programs on the major TV networks," *Broadcasting* (Feb. 24, 1958).

Preview of Nielsen's long-term ratings trends study; shows programs by year of origin, ratings—survivors and casualties. Also shows different types of programs originated 1952-1956; gives percent still on.

"Radio, who listens, when, where; national Christal-Politz study," *Broadcasting*, 54 (Feb. 24, 1958), p. 130+.

"Activity; how people spend their time," *Broadcasting*, 54 (Jan. 6, 1958), p. 36.

Data from Sindlinger, based on 48-State random dispersion sample of 7,000 interviews, December 22-28, people age 13 or over.

"TV viewing; weekday, daytime and nighttime sets in use," *Television Magazine*, 15 (January 1958), p. 7.

"Videotown survey notes a peak in hours spent staring at screens," *Business Week* (Dec. 14, 1957), p. 130.

"Western Union surveys Charleston TV viewers," *Editor and Publisher*, 90 (Aug. 10, 1957), p. 28.

Study made for several newspapers in area. Telephone survey, random sample from directory, continuous telephone interviewing in Charleston (S.C.) from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m., Monday through Friday, week of June 17; total of 1,819 effective calls (about 1 out of every 17 telephone homes in area). Some results are given, e.g., 51.4 percent was the highest proportion of households with sets turned on (TV); 11.7 percent for radio.

"Canadian TV-viewing parallels United States," *Printers' Ink* (Jan. 18, 1957), p. 74.

Compares data on U.S. audiences (Nielsen) with data on Canadians (International Surveys, Ltd.) from sample of 1,500 homes in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver; uses continuous panel diary techniques.

Lang, Kurt. "Areas of radio preferences: a preliminary inquiry," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 41 (1957), pp. 7-14.

Study of constellation of preferences of radio programs, Canadian sample.

"Study of daytime TV finds few gals watch," *Editor and Publisher*, 89 (Nov. 10, 1956), p. 17.

" 'Town' studies show how viewers rate television," *Printers' Ink*, 257 (Oct. 19, 1956), p. 62.

"Radio audience; auto radio audience," *Printers' Ink*, 256 (Aug. 24, 1956), p. 232+.

"Videotown, 1955; the longer they own, the more they watch," *Sponsor*, 9 (Oct. 17, 1955), p. 34+.

"Feature film ratings: how good?" *Sponsor*, 10 (Dec. 22, 1956), p. 26.

First reports on program ratings of feature films on TV. Chiefly ARB data.

Puff, R. "How agencies will benefit from MBS-Ward radio survey; listening audience and what it is doing," *Advertising Age*, 47 (Nov. 1954), p. 76+.

Reports selected findings, national survey of probability sample of 7,000 families, by personal interviewers, and diaries. Each person above age 6 kept diary of daily activities from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. for 2 days. Over 40,000 diaries analyzed. Data. (Study by J. Ward, Inc., for Mutual Broadcasting Co.)

Ohara, H. "Comparative preferences of radio and television programs," *Sociology and Social Research*, 37 (May 1953), pp. 305-311.

Questionnaire study of 1,330 people, selected from groups, to compare preferences of radio and television programs, trends in preferences, whether selectivity is at work.

Dunn, S. W. "Qualitive analysis of listening in radio class programing," *Journalism Quarterly*, 29 (1952), pp. 175-180.

Study by Institute of Communication Research, University of Illinois, in 1949. Sample of listeners in county in Illinois; diary method. Types of programs by audience composition.

MacLean, M. "Mass media audience: city, small city, village and farm," *Journalism Quarterly*, 29 (1952), pp. 271-282.

Study of mass media audience characteristics in areas of Minnesota.

Nielsen, A. C. "1950 radio-TV audience analyses," *Broadcasting Yearbook* (Jan. 15, 1951), p. 24+.

Peatman, J. and T. Hallonquist. "Geographical sampling in testing and appeal of radio broadcasts," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 34 (Aug. 1950), pp. 270-279.

Use of the program analyzer to test audience reaction; comparing audiences in Los Angeles and New York.

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Advertising Research Foundation, *Radio-TV Bibliography* (January 1954).

Fearing, F. and G. Rogge. "A selected and annotated bibliography in communication research," *Quarterly Film, Radio, Television*, 6 (1952), pp. 283-315.

Knower, F. "Graduate theses and dissertations on broadcasting, 1956-58," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 4 (winter 1959/60), pp. 77-87.
Also see continuing bibliographies in *Journalism Quarterly*, by H. Nelson and others; in *Journal of Broadcasting* by various authors.

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Books in Review

CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT ON CENSORSHIP. By Rev. Harold C. Gardiner, S. J. Garden City, N. Y.: Hanover House, 1958. 192 pp. $2.95.

As literary editor of *America* magazine and as an author, Father Gardiner has for some twenty years been concerned with questions of censorship—including "pressure groups," boycott, and coercion. Here he provides a readable and at the same time authoritative outline of the Catholic position on these questions.

Of particular value to current discussion are Father Gardiner's definitions of terms, his clarification of the Roman Catholic position on censorship—both in theory and practical applications, his analysis of the concepts of law and freedom and their existence in the Church. To these 67 pages of general considerations, he adds 125 pages of analysis of the American context of the legal and social aspects of censorship and he sets forth the Catholic answers to the problem. He notes the varying positions enunciated by members of the Catholic Church and provides his own suggestions for further quiet and reasoned discussion of this controversial area.

The documentation provides numerous references to important sources, touching up freedom, license, authority, persuasion, boycott, coercion, and other aspects of genuine and spurious censorship. The author presents at considerable length the case as he understands it both against and for the Index of Prohibited Books (its meaning and history), the National Legion of Decency, and the National Office for Decent Literature. He appraises the criticism of the latter two groups as set forth by the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Book Publishers Council.

This is not a debate handbook but a gracious yet forthright exposition of the Catholic viewpoint on a complex question. Specific problem-areas and sources of complaint are discussed and clarified by the author in his attempt to make further discussion possible and fruitful by clearing up some of the misunderstandings and blurred terminology that create part of the present problem among Catholics as well as among non-Catholics.

This single book provides a coherent expression of Catholic thought on the relationship between human freedom and legitimate human authority—where the question involves not only individual man but man in society, not only his freedom of personal thought but his freedom of expression of that thought, particularly through the mass media of print radio, television, and motion pictures.

James A. Brown, S. J.
University of Detroit

MASS COMMUNICATIONS. Edited by Wilbur Schramm. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1960. 695 pp. $6.50.

Mass Communications is a careful selection of introductory readings focusing on the study of mass communications through the windows of the social sciences. Although this second edition represents a substantial revision of the 1949 volume, only seven of some three dozen essays in the first edition are not to be found here. Fully a dozen new essays have been added increasing

the size of the second ediiton by 143 pages. The new material not only covers adequately most of the areas of the deleted content but expands considerably the scope of the previous volume.

In his reorganization of this edition Professor Schramm seems to suggest emerging trends of interest in mass communication. While substantially retaining the six sections of the original, covering the development, the control and support, the process, the content, the audiences, and the effects of mass communications, he has assembled two new sections: "The Structure and Function of Mass Communications" and "Responsibility for Mass Communications." In making changes in content Schramm seems to indicate also shifts of importance among the mass media. Three essays dealing specifically with radio, one on motion pictures, and one on the press were set aside, while one essay specifically concerning motion pictures, three on the press, and four on television were among those added. Further, Schramm takes notice of the fact that the great communications development of recent years has been the phenomenal growth of television which, hardly mentioned in the 1949 edition, has its proper place in this volume.

The list of contributing authors includes many of the best known names in the fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and political science, as well as those readily associated with the mass media themselves. The major strength of the volume seems to derive from the aggregate quality of the essays, each of which contributes to Schramm's overall objective of "... combining diversity of approach with unity of target."

Although the first edition of *Mass Communications* has been out of print for a number of years it was never really out-of-date. The moderately revised second edition provides not only an excellent new text and reader, but a reference book of permanent value.

Richard D. Porter
University of Southern California

THE RADIO AMATEUR'S HANDBOOK. (38th Edition) West Hartford, Conn.: American Radio Relay League, 1961. 724 pp. $3.50.

This is the latest edition of the ham operator's "bible." It is listed here chiefly because it is possibly the most easily read and most complete electronics reference book available at low cost. It is particularly useful as an introduction to the technical side of radio for those young hopefuls who may some day grow into the indespensible, gadgeteering, reliable engineers needed by every broadcasting station.

TELEVISION AND THE CHILD. By Hilde T. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim and Pamela Vince. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. (Reprint of Chaps. 1-4, 1961).

A reprint of the summarizing chapters of this major study sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation is now available, free, by writing Department JB, Television Information Office, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, New York.

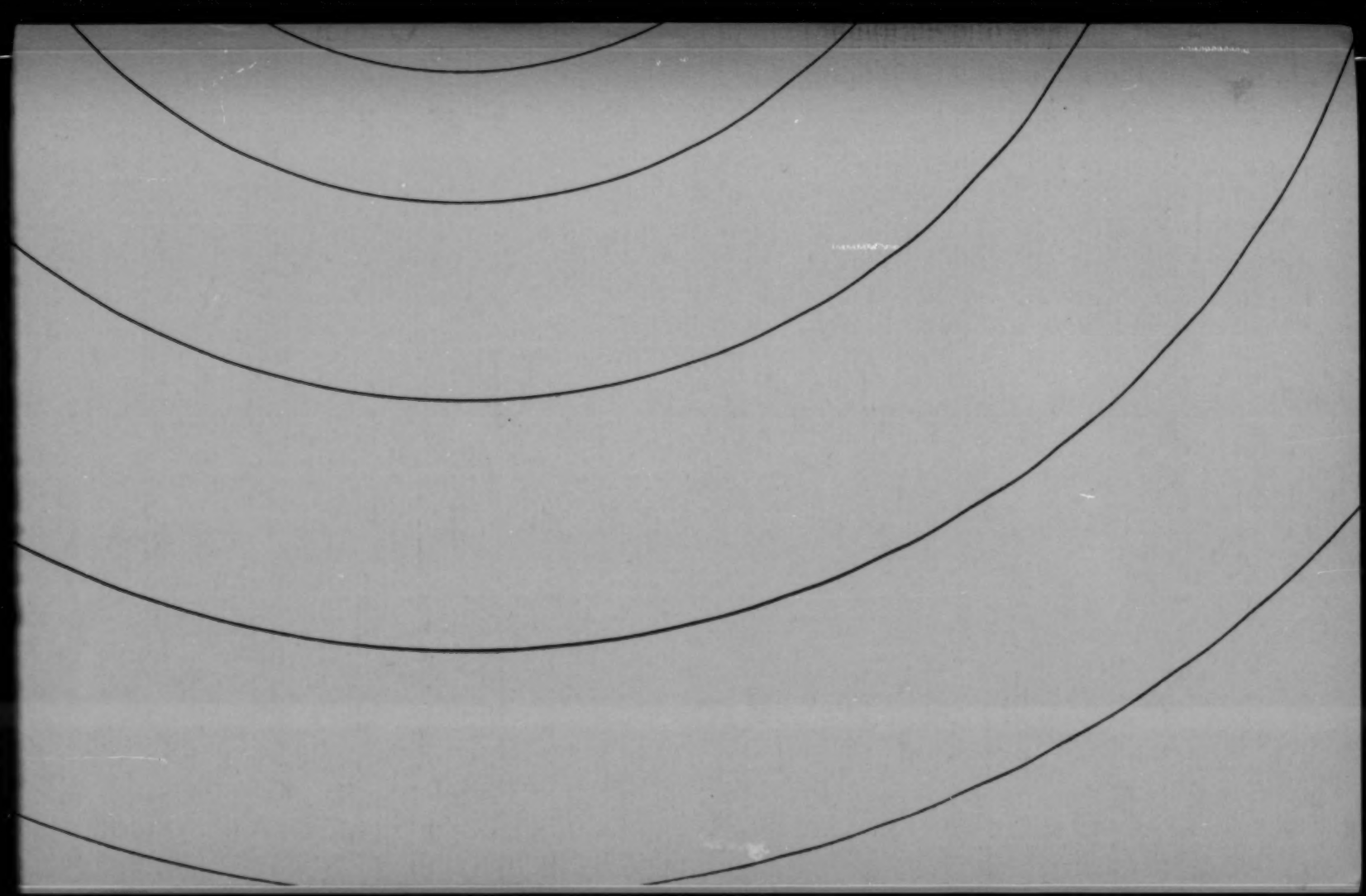
PURPOSE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR PROFESSIONAL BROADCASTING EDUCATION

The purpose of this organization is to secure mutual advantages that flow from a continuing relationship between broadcasters and institutions of higher learning which offer a high standard of training and guidance for those who plan to enter the profession of broadcasting.

These are the fundamental objectives of the Association:

To improve the services of broadcasting.

To facilitate exchange of information on broadcasting.

To bring together to their mutual advantage those in broadcasting and those in institutions of higher learning.

To facilitate employment at maximum effectiveness for those who meet the standards of institutions of higher learning and of broadcasting.